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THE  
S L A V E S T A T E S  
OF  
A M E R I C A . )

BY  
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AUTHOR OF  
"AMERICA, HISTORICAL, STATISTIC, AND DESCRIPTIVE."

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II. )

FISHER, SON, & CO.  
NEWGATE ST. LONDON; RUE ST. HONORÉ, PARIS.



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**D. B. MORRIS**  
**CHAPLAIN OF**  
**HOWRAH**

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# THE SLAVE STATES

OF

## AMERICA.

Vol 2.

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AFTER a very agreeable fortnight passed at Charleston, where I delivered a fourth course of lectures on Arabia, Persia, and Hindoostan, in the theatre of the Medical College, and in the French Protestant church of the Huguenots, and after enjoying the delightful weather and cordial hospitalities of several friendly families among the residents there, we left the city on the morning of Saturday the 8th of June, for Columbia, the legislative capital of South Carolina.

The whole distance of our journey was about 120 miles ; and the first half of it was performed on the Augusta railroad, as far as a place called Branchville. We left Charleston at seven ; breakfasted at Woodstock, a distance of fifteen miles, at eight o'clock ; and arrived at Branchville at eleven, going, therefore, at the rate of from fifteen to twenty miles an hour, the fare being four and a half dollars for sixty-two miles. On our way we saw many alligators in the ditches and swamps ; and at one of the halting-places, while the boilers were filling with water, an active young sportsman among the passengers caught one of these creatures alive, dexterously seizing it by the throat, and pressing it so hard in his grasp, that it opened its jaws from the pain, and was unable to close them again. Its strength, however, was considerable, it being about five feet in length, and its twistings and writhings such as could scarcely be overcome by all the efforts of the person holding him with both hands by the throat and by the tail. At length a rope was fastened round its neck by a noose, and the end of it tied to a stake driven in the ground, when the alligator then afforded a painful sport to those who had a taste for these exhibitions, by darting towards all who approached it, and being suddenly checked by the rope around its neck, until, by the united effects of the exertion, the heat, and the dust, it appeared quite exhausted. A few pails of water poured over it, seemed soon, however, to revive all its drooping energies, when the cars drove off, leaving the creature pinioned to the ground.

At eleven o'clock, we were transferred from the railroad cars to the stage-coach, which was of the

usual construction, for nine passengers inside ; and, unfortunately for our comfort, every seat was full. The day was one of the hottest we had experienced for some time ; and being now removed from the refreshing influence of the sea-breezes, felt so agreeably at Charleston, we suffered greatly. There appeared, indeed, to be not a breath of wind from any quarter, and the heavy sandy roads over which we were lazily drawn, at the rate of from three to four miles an hour, with the reflection of the sun from the sands, and a high wall of dense forest-trees on either side, made it insufferably sultry.

Our fellow-passengers were chiefly Virginians and Carolinians, with only one young female among the number. The whole of the men smoked and chewed tobacco, and expressed their astonishment to learn, that in England and France the great majority of the community did neither. We heard from them such pictures of the prevailing immorality and dishonesty of the mercantile classes, as, if told of them by any foreigner, would have roused their indignation ; and such confessions of the recklessness and blood-thirstiness of the white inhabitants of the South and West, as we were hardly prepared to hear thus openly avowed. Many individuals were named by them as living in a style of great luxury and expense, who had failed three or four times over, maintaining themselves by defrauding others, and who yet, because they were believed to be wealthy, not only retained their station in society without reproach, but were even courted and sought after by those living in their neighbourhood. Other individuals were also named, as known by them to have killed

more than one friend in a duel or an affray, and who had not on that account lost the slightest consideration in general society, but, in their opinion, were thought rather better of for these "manifestations of manly spirit." From two newspapers of the previous week's date, one a Charleston, and the other a Columbia paper, then with us in the coach, the following paragraphs were read, confirmatory of part of their statements, as to the recklessness of character in the South; and all assented to their truth—

"The Governor of a South-western State lately urged upon the Legislature, that the Penitentiary being completed, they ought to pass laws for the supplying it with tenants. The State of Mississippi bids fair to furnish tenants, ready-made, to all her neighbours—the officers of justice being first in the generous example of supplying the deficiencies of neighbouring sovereignties. The constable pulls the nose of the United States' judge—the clerk of the court spits in the Governor's face—preachers *lynch* each other without benefit of clergy—and, if they go on, a detachment of the navy will have to go up the river, and bombard them *a la Qualee Battoo*."

"MURDERS.—At Vicksburgh, Mississippi, a few days since, B. Mont walked into a grocery store, and shot the owner of it, Mr. Fagle, through the head, for seducing and marrying his (Mont's) wife.—At Jacksonville, Illinois, John Hall killed Robert S. Denny by throwing a pair of tailor's shears at him, one part of which entered his breast.—At Charleston, South Carolina, James Horton and Augustus B. O'Bannon got into a dispute, which ended by the former being shot through the body, causing death."

The passengers dined at a small village called Orangeburgh, about four o'clock, three hours later than the usual dining-hour in the country; but there was no house between Branchville and this, at which a meal could be had. The fare at those halting

places is so coarse, and the whole service so dirty and disgusting, that wherever we could avoid taking our food at them, we did, and usually provided ourselves with a few sandwiches and hard-boiled eggs for the journey, before setting out; so that water was all we needed to be supplied with. Even this, however, could rarely be had pure and clean, as it was generally brought in a dirty pitcher, or a still dirtier glass, and often so highly tinctured with the odour of rum, from the unwashed vessel in which it was presented, that we preferred taking our own clean drinking cup, and supplying ourselves, wherever it was practicable, from some bubbling spring.

As night closed in, the noise of the frogs in the swamps and marshes became incessant and overpowering; varied only at intervals, by the more agreeable sound of the two night-birds, called "Whip-poor-Will," and "Check-Will's-Widow." These are so named from the notes resembling these words; and they are as near to them as the notes of birds can be to human language. These birds belong to the genus nighthawk, and subsist by preying on nocturnal insects: hence they are rarely, or never either heard or seen during day.

During the night, the alternations of heat and cold were very sudden and violent. For an hour or more, the air would be so sultry as to require every part of the coach to be open, and to make all unbutton their waistcoats, and pant with the sense of suffocation, by which all seemed to be oppressed. In a moment a stream of cold damp air would rush across the coach, and require every part of it to be closed; perspiration would be instantly checked, garments



would be all buttoned up close, and great coats, shawls, and cloaks be in general request. It is, no doubt, these sudden alternations of temperature and their consequences, that make it so dangerous to sleep in these woods during the summer.

About midnight we halted at a solitary house, eighteen miles before reaching Columbia; and had the unusual good fortune to obtain there, the welcome refreshment of tea, and half an hour's freedom for our cramped limbs, after which we set out with renewed vigour. The rate at which we travelled was so slow, however, as not to exceed on the average three miles an hour, though we had four horses, and these changed every ten or twelve miles. The alleged reason of this tardiness was the heavy nature of the sandy roads; but the real reason, no doubt, was, that this stage, which carried the mail-bags, had the entire monopoly of the road, not by any exclusive legal privileges, but by the absence of all competition; and, therefore, they travelled at the rate they thought most easy to their cattle, while the passengers were without remedy.

At the earliest dawn of day, soon after four o'clock, we met many of the field-negroes going to their work. All of them were wretchedly clad, in tattered and ragged fragments of garments hanging in shreds around their bodies; and when, at the sight of their miserable condition, Mrs. Buckingham involuntarily sighed, and said in a scarcely audible whisper, "Poor creatures!" three or four voices immediately and impatiently exclaimed, "Ah! Madam, they are among the happiest of human beings; for when their work is over, they

have no cares, as every thing they need is provided for them." It has been often remarked, that the constant representation of a falsehood ultimately occasions even its utterers to believe it to be true. This often-repeated falsehood of "the negroes having everything they need provided for them," must be of this class; for it really seems if its utterers were, in many instances at least, so deluded as to believe it to be true. I replied, that if to be relieved from all care about food and clothing when their work was over, constituted the claim of any class to be considered among "the happiest of human beings;" then all the convicts of our penal colonies—all the inmates of the State prisons and Penitentiaries—all the criminals confined for life in the dungeons of Europe, or cells of America, might put in the same claim; for they too are relieved from all care as to food and raiment; the only difference of their lot from that of the rest of mankind, being, that they have to work harder, to suffer the loss of their personal liberty, and to be liable to be whipped if they murmured, imprisoned if they absconded, and shot if they offered the least resistance! But persons brought up in slave-countries, and accustomed from their cradles to regard the institution of slavery as one of mercy instead of injustice, and to repeat every day of their lives, that "slaves are the happiest of human beings," are as impervious to reason on this subject, as the various classes of persons in Europe are to matters in which their interest blinds their judgment, and their love of gain deadens every other feeling. Such classes are unhappily too abundant in every country of the

earth, and in England, perhaps, as numerous as in any other.

It was not ten minutes after the observation was made, that "the slaves were among the happiest of human beings, having all their wants amply provided for;" that the very same individual who gave it utterance, said, "I think the very devil's got into the niggers of late; for I've heard of more running away, and seen more rewards offered for their apprehension, within the last month, than I ever remember to have seen in the same space of time." Yet no one appeared to be struck with the singular contrast presented between this confession and the previous assertion; and if we had remarked their inconsistency, instead of its making the least impression on their minds, the only answer we should have had, perhaps, would have been this—"Oh! but you are English abolitionists, who have abolished slavery in the West Indies, for the sake of encouraging a negro revolt in the Southern States, and thus revenging yourselves on America."—This belief, monstrous as it is, was more than once expressed in my hearing, though not addressed to me, by persons who apparently believed to be true; and having said enough to show my own dissent from their views, I did not wish to risk the explosion which such a spark as this might have occasioned, by lighting on the combustible materials by which we were surrounded.

As the day opened, the song of the birds in the woods was ravishing, the forests literally rang with their joyous music; and in no part of the world had I ever heard more melodious sounds gushing forth from the fountain of Nature's harmony. The fields looked

beautiful in the cleared patches that intervened between the dense masses of forests ; and the rye, oats, corn, and cotton, were all growing vigorously, and promising abundant crops. Some few fields were planted with indigo, for which the soil and climate of Carolina are well adapted ; but only a limited quantity is now grown for home-consumption, as the land yields so much more profit when planted with cotton. The country was woody as we approached Columbia ; and among the trees were two large tracts covered with the short-leaved pine, a much handsomer tree than the ordinary forest-pine, being of fuller foliage, and sending out its branches much nearer the ground than the lank and tall pine of the woods. The latter is the original first-growth of the land, and forms the principal tree of the primeval forest ; while the former is the produce of the second growth, when the first is cleared away, and the grounds are left untilled for a few years.

When the sun rose above the horizon, a thin sheet of blue mist was seen suspended a few feet only from the ground, which gradually ascended as the sun grew higher, and ultimately disappeared. It is this low mist which, in the opinion of most of our passengers, natives of the country, contains the poison that occasions the fevers of the low-grounds ; and as it is carried off in vapour during the day, but returns and settles near the surface of the earth at night, when it receives the vegetable miasma of the swamps and thickets, this explained why it was perfectly safe to travel, or to visit the plantations of the low-grounds, while the sun was above the horizon, but dangerous to do either after nightfall and before sunrise.

About three miles before we reached Columbia, we passed through what is very rarely seen in America—a deserted village. This is called Granby, and was the predecessor of Columbia. It was first begun to be built in the year 1800, and was occupied for more than ten years, when it was thought that the opposite side of the river Congaree, near which it was situated, was a better situation for a town, and Columbia was accordingly commenced, to which the small population of Granby gradually united itself. As the houses of the first settlers are always built of wood, and as the material is too easily procured to render it worth while to pull down a wooden house for the sake of its rafters or planks when once abandoned, these dwellings of the deserted village remain just as they were when first forsaken, and present a singular and melancholy appearance.

About two miles beyond Granby, we crossed the river Congaree by one of those closed wooden bridges so frequently seen over American streams. The whole covering is exactly like that of a long warehouse, with perpendicular sides and sloping roof, all of wood, with square windows at long intervals apart, to afford light sufficient for the passage, and no more. The interior is divided into two separate avenues, with a partition of diagonal rafters between, one passage being used by the comers and the other by the goers so that no vehicles can ever meet or come in contact with each other, nor can even a horse pass through the rafter-partition from the one side to the other—an arrangement very conducive to safety. The river was very low, large patches of its rocky bed being visible above its surface, and its waters were

yellow with soil. The river is of considerable length, rising in the mountains of North Carolina, in what is called the Blue Ridge, nearly 200 miles above Columbia, northward: it is there called the Broad River. Near Columbia it is joined by a river called the Saluda, which comes from the north-west. The united stream is called the Congaree, and is about a third of a mile broad where we crossed it. It then joins another river called the Santee, and this flowing south-eastward, discharges itself into the Atlantic near Georgetown, a little to the north-east of Charleston, on the coast.

A mile beyond the river, gradually ascending all the way, brought us at length to Columbia about six o'clock, having been thus nineteen hours performing a distance of sixty miles, scarcely more than three miles an hour. We found comfortable accommodations at the United States Hotel.

Among the inmates of the inn during our stay here, was a lady and her family from Charleston, on their way to Kentucky by land, to spend the summer. They had come in two private carriages with their own horses, with which they intended to perform the journey in easy stages of twenty-five or thirty miles a day; but by the time they had reached this, having taken three days to come from Charleston, their four horses were so knocked-up by the heat of the weather and the heaviness of the roads, that they were unfit to proceed farther, and the lady was obliged to purchase four new ones, and sell the old at a great sacrifice, there being no arrangements for post-horses, as in England, so that none can be had on the road. We had been advised to take private

carriages and our own horses, for our intended journey to the Virginia mountains, and had some disposition to adopt this advice. But the example before us was sufficient to make us pause.

There was another family from the sea-coast halting here on the way to the mountains, that of a rich planter from the sea-islands on the borders of the Atlantic. He was said to be worth half a million of dollars, but he was as unpolished and uninformed as any man might be supposed to be, who had passed the greater portion of his life, as he told us he had, among his negroes, with few books, and no disposition to consider any subject but the growth of cotton ; or opportunities of cultivating the acquaintance of any other society than that of planters like himself. There are very many such wealthy men in the oldest settled States ; of which, this is one ; and it is remarked, that the greater number of them are childless, which is, perhaps, one of the reasons why their wealth accumulates, as they have no daughters to appportion in marriage, or sons to set up in the world. There are always, however, plenty of nephews, nieces, and cousins, to come in for their share of the property after the death of the possessor ; so that it ultimately gets sufficiently diffused. The men, from their more active life, bear the climate much better than the women, who being of very feeble stamina, taking little exercise, and using very ill-prepared and innutritious diet, are unable to bear up against any powerful attack of disease. There are consequently a much greater number of husbands who survive their wives, than wives who survive their husbands. We saw at Charleston a gentleman,

not yet forty, who had been married to a fourth wife; and we saw here at Columbia, a lady who was the fifth wife of her present husband; and as he had had no children by either of his five wives, he deemed it an acquisition that the lady he last espoused, being a widow, had brought him not only a fortune, but three children by her first husband, to share with her the wealth of the second.

From all the observations I have been enabled to make on this subject, and from the facts I heard from others, I should think that the wealth of the respective parties about to form a matrimonial alliance, was much more frequently an object of consideration in the Southern States of America, at least, than in England. This is the more remarkable, inasmuch as there is much less necessity for such consideration here than with us. In England, the difficulty of earning in almost any pursuit of life more than sufficient to supply a bachelor's wants, at least, up to the age of thirty, makes it imperative on all prudent persons to secure, before they form a matrimonial alliance, additional means to meet the additional expense of a family establishment. But in this country, the gains of every profession, even in its earliest stages, are so much greater, and the expenses of maintenance are so much less, than in England, that no one need be deterred from marriage from a fear of being able to support themselves.

There are two causes, which appear to me to lead to this state of pecuniary consideration in the marriages of the South. The first is, that in this country, the chief, if not the only certain method, of ensuring homage or consideration from the mass of the com-



munity, is by the acquisition of wealth. To this, therefore, all attention is directed, and in this almost every other passion is swallowed up and absorbed. Marriage is one of the modes by which this object of universal desire may be most easily achieved; and it is therefore planned and pursued as an affair of business: and a fortunate alliance of this description is talked of as a matter of skill and good management on the part of the husband, just as a successful issue of some well-planned speculation in a commercial undertaking. Many are the instances in which a man marries two sisters, in succession, each of them very wealthy, and sometimes even a third, so rapidly do they give place to each other. A second cause of pecuniary marriages, I think, is this—that the passion of love is not felt with the same intensity by either sex in this country as even in France; still less so than in England: and with nothing approaching to the ardour with which this passion burns in Portugal, in Spain, and in Italy. We never knew, or even heard, thus far at least, of any romantic attachment, accompanied by acts of such self-devotion as is often seen in England: and neither in the social intercourse which we have enjoyed among the young, nor in the domestic conversations of the middle-aged, have we ever witnessed that ardent attachment, and reciprocal sacrifice of all selfish considerations, which characterize the communion of *passionato* lovers everywhere else. All is decorous, orderly, and irreproachable: but everything is also formal, indifferent, and cold.

Both physical and mental causes may contribute to this. The youth of America have not that

vigorous and robust health, and that full flow of blood, which characterize the youth of England, and which forms a large element in the capacity to feel intense and passionate love. They have less leisure for those rural walks and pleasant country excursions, and less taste for this class of pleasures, in wooded parks, green lanes, secluded orchards, verdant lawns, flower-gardens, grassy dales, and by babbling brooks, than the English—and what auxiliaries to youthful attachments these are, it is unnecessary to say. The young men of America are all so busily engaged, from morning till night, in affairs of commerce or professional occupations, and so engrossed with the one great aim of getting on in business, and acquiring wealth, that they have neither time nor inclination for those romantic dreams of love, which absorb so large a portion of the time and thoughts of English youths between fifteen and twenty. When they meet the other sex, it is either at a public dinner-table, with fifty or a hundred other guests, where none remain more than a quarter of an hour, and where there is no time for conversation; or at balls and crowded parties, where the opportunities of indulging an interchange of sentiment and feeling are too broken and interrupted, to feed the passion of fervent feeling, or to suit the gravity of sentimental love. Social evening-visits, without invitation or preparation, are rare indeed in any part of America; and to morning visits to ladies, gentlemen are rarely admitted, as the ladies are then “particularly engaged,” so that the thousand opportunities which these morning and evening calls offer in England, for love-making,

are seldom met with, and rarely improved in America. Add to all this, that the knowledge of, and taste for the fine arts, is greatly inferior here ; and that the beauties of sculpture, painting, and poetry, —all so favourable to passion—are less understood, less appreciated, and less talked of among American than among English youths ; and that the exquisite and entrancing strains of music, the very “ food of love,” are rarely heard blending in sweet harmony from male and female voices, and binding hands, and eyes, and hearts, in one, as they often do in England ; and it will be seen that there are abundant causes for that deficiency of romantic feeling, and passionate affection, the absence of which appears so characteristic of the youths of America.

We remained in Columbia a week, during the whole of which the heat was intense, the air perfectly calm, with now and then, at long intervals, a slight breath of wind from the west, sultry and suffocating like the simoom of the desert. During the hottest part of the day, the thermometer was from 98° to 99° in the shade ; but the nights were even more oppressive ; and in a large bed-room with doors and windows open, and no covering whatever on the bed, nor even the enclosure of a musquito curtain, the heat was so oppressive as to make us require a change of linen before daybreak ; and at sunrise it seemed almost as hot as at noon. We thought the heat of Philadelphia, New York, and Albany, about this time last year, excessive ; but at Columbia its effects in prostrating the strength, and destroying all energy and all capacity for action, was even still greater. We were told by the resident inhabitants,

that during the months of June and July, such "hot spells" as these occur at intervals of a week, and generally last eight or ten days, each growing hotter than the preceding, until the climax is attained, when a violent thunderstorm, with heavy rain, breaks up the spell, and a short period of refreshing weather follows. The dry heat, however, lasted all the time of our stay, and a thin mist covered the surrounding country. The streets were almost deserted; and all active exertion seemed paralyzed by the weather. Certainly, I never suffered so much inconvenience from the heat in Bengal, or any other part of India. It was as oppressive to the feelings as the heat of the Persian Gulf or Red Sea, usually deemed the hottest parts of the world. What surprised me very much, however, was, that though these oppressive heats are experienced every year, the houses are not provided with the many modes of evading or subduing it, which are so common in India. Neither punkahs, nor tatties, nor matted floors, nor surrounding verandas, so common both in the East and West Indies, and in South America, by which the heat is so much mitigated, exists here; though the latter are sometimes seen on one side of a dwelling only, rarely on two, and never on three. No pains appear to be taken to keep either water or anything else cool; and though ice is a luxury as easily to be provided here as anywhere, by importation from the northern ports, or preservation of their own winter supply, which is considerable—this is so neglected, that there was only one place in Columbia, a druggist's, at which ice could be procured; and it

was said that not twenty families in the place ever availed themselves of this treasure, though in the Atlantic cities every one uses it in profusion. This indifference to personal comfort, and disregard of luxuries, seemed to us surprising. The inhabitants of these parts certainly do not understand the art of living, so as to obtain the greatest amount of enjoyment which their circumstances will admit; for while possessed of ample means in fortune, they remain destitute of many pleasures quite within their reach, and such as are innocent and healthy.

Notwithstanding the intense heat of the weather, my lectures on Palestine were attended during every evening of the week by as large an audience nearly as the Baptist church would contain; which was contrary to my expectation. They had been publicly announced, and all the arrangements made for their delivery, before this "hot spell" had set in; and when the evening for the first arrived, I would have given a great deal to have been released from the labour which my engagement imposed on me. But it was too late to recede; and though I sat during the whole time, a chair being placed for this purpose on a raised platform, beneath and in front of the pulpit I was obliged to use a fan of feathers during the whole period, in common with the greater portion of the audience, male as well as female. These fans are in general use in large crowds, and produce a very singular effect, the sound of them being like the rustling of a large flock of birds on the wing, and the waving motion of the whole like that of agitated waters. Though all went away exhausted,

and no one more than myself, yet all returned again on the succeeding evening, and appeared to sustain their interest in the subject to the last.

Columbia derives all its importance from being the legislative capital of the State of South Carolina, and the seat of the college supported by the State. In the early period of the republic, the seat of legislation was at Charleston; and this section of country was then an unexplored and untrodden wilderness, at least to the whites—the Catawba tribe of Indians, now nearly extinct, being then its sole occupants. Like the other tribes of Indians, the great body of these have been purchased out, till they have receded farther west. A small remnant of them only is left in the interior of the State, on a piece of ground called the Indian Reservation, about three miles square, where, by the aid of a small annual stipend from the general government, they eke out a miserable existence. They are averse to industry of every kind, and are so given to intoxicating drinks, that their numbers are every year lessening from this cause, so that in a very short period it is thought that their race will become extinct.

When the State legislatures were first organized, and the States incorporated into one Federal Union, the principle of centrality in situation for the several legislative capitals, was generally adopted. The distances were so great, the roads so imperfect, and the means of conveyance so confined to that of riding on horseback, as to render it desirable that the burden and fatigue of attending the legislature should be as equally divided as possible. On this principle it was, that about the year 1800 it was

resolved to remove the seat of legislation for South Carolina from Charleston to some central position ; and the spot where Columbia now stands having been thought the most eligible for this purpose, was accordingly determined on. The State House was then erected—hotels and boarding-houses for the accommodation of the members soon followed. The State College was next built. A Court House, Jail, Lunatic Asylum, and Academy, followed ; and the usual addition of stores or shops, traders, artisans, professional men, and places of worship for the several denominations of Christians of which these were composed, came in due course of time.

The site of Columbia is on elevated ground, commanding an extensive prospect all around, though the eye reposes on little else than dense forests, as yet untouched by the woodman's axe, with a few partial clearings only, near the town. The river Congaree being within a mile of the town, and navigable by steamboats up to the bridge for the greater part of the year, affords facilities of water communication, first to the river Santee, and then by it to the Atlantic. The soil is extremely sandy, but this contributes much to the healthiness of the place, while it is sufficiently fertile to produce good crops of corn and cotton. There had recently been a tremendous hailstorm here, the stones of which were as large as hen's eggs ; and the fall of which had cut to pieces, all the young plants ; but though considerable damage had been occasioned by this icy tempest, large crops were confidently expected.

The plan of Columbia is as rectangular as that of American cities generally. Its size is about two

miles in length from east to west, and one mile in breadth from north to south. The streets cross each other at right angles, and are from sixty to eighty feet in breadth, lined, in many instances, with rows of locust and pride-of-india trees on either side, unpaved in the centre, and sandy, with partial side-pavements of brick or stone.

Of public buildings, the State House is the oldest but not the handsomest. It is built of wood, without any remarkable feature in its architecture; but it is spacious, and well adapted to the purposes for which it was erected. A new edifice of stone is about to be erected, to supersede it; but this is not yet commenced. The session of the legislature is very short, rarely or ever exceeding four weeks—the two houses meeting for business in the last week in November, and always adjourning a few days before Christmas. There is, of course, but little legislative business to transact; for, beginning with a well-defined written constitution, and a republican frame of government, there are few or no reforms to make; and all the prolific sources of dispute which furnish such occupation for the British legislature, in debates on the reform of the church, adjustment of tithes, purification of municipal corporations, amendment of corn-laws, reduction of taxation, revision of the pension and civil list, and provision for paupers of a humbler degree, are here unknown; so that their sessions pass away tranquilly and briefly, and leave nothing undone to accumulate in arrear. The House of Representatives consists of 120, and the Senate of 42 members; and these, with the Governor, constitute the legislative body. The Governor has the



power to reject any measure after it has passed both houses ; when it is sent back, and can only become law by the concurrence of two-thirds of each house respectively. The representatives are elected by general suffrage for one year, and the senators by the counties for two years, receiving a fixed allowance of mileage for their respective journeys to and from the seat of legislation, and three dollars per day for the single month they are in session. The Governor, who is elected by general suffrage for two years, receives a salary of 3,500 dollars, or about 700% a year ; and these, with the judges, the seven professors of the State College, and a few other public officers, are all the individuals paid out of the funds of the State ; so that the taxation is so light as to be scarcely perceptible.

The College is an assemblage of buildings occupying an area of about 600 feet by 300 within the walls, with a central space, having a double row of elms running up the centre, and the buildings enclosing the quadrangle. At the farther extremity of this from the entrance gate, is the President's House. Leading from it are two good piles of building, which will accommodate fifty students each. Beyond these are newer piles, erected for the accommodation of a hundred students more—then dwellings for the professors—and last of all, a new library, about half-finished, to which the existing collection of books will soon be transferred.

This College is one of the very few institutions of learning in America, that are wholly supported by the State. Funds for building it were at first supplied by a grant from the legislature ; and the sala-

ries of its professors, and the annual augmentation of its library are all appropriated annually by the same body. The Faculty consists of the president and seven professors ; and the Board of Trustees is composed of the governor, the judges, and certain others elected to that office by the legislature ; and the management is now said to be very efficient. About three years since, the college was at a low ebb in general estimation, in consequence of the laxity of discipline, and immorality and disorder, which then prevailed ; so that parents became unwilling to send their children there. This is ascribed to the neglect of the late principal, who was removed from his office by the act of the trustees ; and the whole establishment has been recently reorganized. Public confidence being restored, it has already recovered its former reputation, and has now a greater number of students, nearly 200, than at any antecedent period.

The general course of study embraces Greek and Roman literature, logic and belles-lettres, history, and political economy, mathematics, chemistry, sacred literature and evidences of Christianity, and intellectual and moral philosophy, there being a professor of each. A chaplain presides over the religious worship, which is according to the Episcopalian form ; though the students are allowed, if the wish be expressed by their parents, to attend worship in any other church of Columbia. The youngest age for admission is fifteen ; but many enter after they are twenty-one ; and few leave before they are twenty-three or twenty-four.

One characteristic difference between the manners and customs of the Northern and Southern States,

is the early period at which the youths of the former quit education for active business, and the later period to which studies are prosecuted by the youth of the latter. The cause of this difference is, that in the North, almost every young man is destined to be a merchant, a lawyer, a physician, or to pursue some active walk in life. In the South, the greater number of the young men who receive college education, are sons of planters, that is, of landed proprietors; gentlemen who live, not on the rental of their estates, as in England, but on the profits of the large plantations tilled by their slaves, and superintended by their overseers. Most of these are not brought up to any business; but are allowed fixed incomes by their fathers, or live with them—and assist in the management of the estates, to the whole or part of which they look for their future support. These, therefore, continue at college till twenty-four or twenty-five, and often go to Europe on a tour for two or three years afterwards, which sufficiently explains why the gentlemen of the South are in general so much more thoroughly educated in the classics and polite literature, and so much more polished in their manners, than those of the North. The whole expense of the education received, in addition to the cost of board and clothing, is only fifty dollars, or ten pounds sterling a year. The students have a common hall for their meals; but they do not study together. Each has a separate study, and separate bed-room; and while they pursue their studies alone, they have three periods of recitation in classes before the several professors, at sunrise, eleven, and four o'clock, when they have a

recess for two hours, and repairing to their rooms in the evening, they there prepare themselves for the recitations of the following day.

There is one great difficulty with which the Faculty have to contend, which is, to maintain the requisite discipline of the college without risk of resistance or rebellion. The nature of the training which these Southern youths undergo before they enter college, is such, owing to the institution of slavery, that they rarely learn the lesson, either of self-control, or of patient submission to restraint placed on them by others. At home they are so accustomed to have their own way, to have every passion gratified, and no wish denied, that they become impatient of the least contradiction, and exhibit extreme reluctance to yield to authority; they require, therefore, peculiar management and great tact, to govern efficiently and tranquilly at the same time.

The Library is not yet very large, but it is every year increasing; and an agent being employed in London for the purchase of the best standard works of ancient and modern literature, large supplies of such works are received from thence every year. Besides a great number of folios and quartos of the olden time—which, from their calf and vellum bindings must have been the occupants of some well-established libraries in Britain before they found their way here—they had recently received a copy of the great French work on Egypt, and another of Rosellini's splendid volumes on the Antiquities of Egypt, Mr. Wilkinson's beautiful work on the same subject, and a number of highly interesting and valuable

productions of the English press. All public institutions of this nature receive a remission of the heavy duty on European books ; and this has, of course, a tendency to multiply and augment the literary treasures of the Old world in chosen spots like these of the New ; and thus, like seed sown in fertile ground, it cannot fail, in the fulness of time, to bring forth an ample and beneficial harvest.

The session of the College lasts for nine months, there being but one vacation in the year, from the 1st of July to the 1st of October, during which the excessive heat of the weather, and the unhealthiness of the climate in August and September, render relaxation and change of air desirable ; so that the students repair to their respective homes, the professors go to the sea-coast or to the mountains, and the College remains entirely deserted.

There are six churches in Columbia, the Episcopal, the Methodist, the Presbyterian, the Baptist, the Unitarian, and the Roman Catholic, neither of which are remarkable for size or beauty. The Court House is a substantial structure, in the centre of Richardson Street, the principal thoroughfare of the town. Here, too, are no less than five hotels, three of which are very large, and the one at which we lived, the United States, well kept, and agreeably furnished, both in bed and board. There is nothing peculiar in the stores or private dwellings of the town worthy of remark. Some are substantial edifices of brick, with granite pillars and foundation, but the greater number are of wood, though these are gradually giving way to buildings of a more durable nature. There are two excellent book-stores, at

which all the recent publications of England can be had at a fourth of their London prices, in American reprints. Lady Lytton Bulwer's novel of "Cheveley, or the Man of Honour," was scattered in profusion all over the United States, within a few weeks after its publication in London, and we learnt that a great many copies had been sold here. This sort of "fashionable novel," especially when it is thought to contain a great deal of personal scandal, and an exposure of private vices to public view, is as eagerly read by the youths of both sexes, as by the devourers of this sort of highly-seasoned literature at home. On the other hand, the graver and more substantial productions of the English press, are rarely reprinted here; and thus the best English books are seldom seen out of those collegiate and public collections to which they find their way, but from which they make little or no impression on the mass of the public.

There are two weekly newspapers published in Columbia, the Telescope, whig, and the South Carolinian, democratic, and both are conducted with a purer taste, and a more gentlemanly feeling, than characterize the greater number of the papers of the North, or of the extreme West and South. Carolina, indeed, stands very high in this particular, and might furnish an excellent example to States making far greater pretensions to excellence. A new State Temperance Journal is also about to be established here, the influence of which, it is hoped, will be highly beneficial.

The population of Columbia is estimated to be 4,500, of whom 2,500 are whites, and 2,000 blacks; the latter being mostly slaves, as few free people of

colour are found among their number. Of the white population, all appear to be engaged in trade, with the exception of a few professional men connected with the college and the law-courts; but their trading operations are on a much smaller scale than at Charleston or Augusta. In the black population I observed no peculiarities worthy of remark. As in other towns, the slaves engaged in domestic service appeared to be well treated, and generally content; but those belonging to the neighbouring plantations, and engaged in out-door occupations, were as ill-clad, dirty, and miserable in appearance, as over-worked and under-fed labourers were likely to be. We saw here, more than elsewhere as I thought, a number of children, from the ages of four to seven, playing about the streets under the care of negro boys and girls but little older than themselves. This seems to be a mode by which parents get rid of the trouble of looking after their children at home. They are sent out to walk, with a negro boy or girl to play with them and bring them back safely. But the little whites soon learn their own superiority, and make great progress in the art of tormenting and abusing their black guardians; laying, thus, in their very first steps in life, the foundation of that irascible temper, and ungovernable self-will, which characterizes nearly all the white inhabitants of Slave States. This is no doubt the true cause of all these outrages of the Southern and Western States, of which the records are so painfully abundant. One of the most recent of these is, the destruction, on the 31st of May last, of nearly a whole town by fire, Port Gibson, in Mississippi. No one doubts it was

the work of incendiaries, whose reckless speculations had involved them deeply in the general embarrassment which prevails over all that State ; and as one of the shortest methods of disentangling themselves from their obligations, would be the destruction of all the records of their various mortgages, bonds, &c., the burning down the Court House, after the example of Columbus in Georgia, was resorted to, it is believed, for this purpose. Not to make this too evident as the ultimate design, the fire was kindled elsewhere, and publicly proclaimed to have been the result of accident ; but so well was the "accident" contrived, that the Court House perished with the rest ; and but a few of its records were rescued from the flames. As it is not so easy, however, to arrest the progress of fire, as it is to kindle it, the devouring element, in this instance, raged to such an extent, as to burn down all the business-streets, and reduce the town to a heap of ruins ; the property destroyed being estimated at upwards of half a million of dollars.

Negroes are continually exposed to sale here, passing from hand to hand, like other "cattle," for so they are chiefly considered. The men are usually called "boys," whatever may be their age ; and very often "fellows." The terms "gang," as describing a number working in company ; "hands," as describing a smaller number ; and "force," as describing a whole body of slaves on an estate, are in frequent use. A female negro is called "a wench," or a "woman ;" and it is this, perhaps, which makes the term "woman" so offensive to American ears, when applied to white females, who must all be called



“ladies.” Besides sales and transfers of negroes, there are frequent committals to prison of persons apprehended under suspicion of being runaway slaves, and kept in custody till they are redeemed. Some of these are of pure African birth, that is, born in Africa, imported from thence by the slave-ships trading to the island of Cuba, and brought by illicit importation into the United States. These are even more impatient of restraint than those born in slavery here; and, therefore, they more frequently attempt to escape. The following are a few notices of each class taken from the “South Carolinian” of June 14, published during our stay here.

14964.  
 “VALUABLE NEGROES FOR SALE.—By permission of James Guignard, Esq., ordinary, will be sold, before the Market-house, in the town of Columbia, on the first Monday in July next, eight valuable negroes, belonging to the estate of Mrs. Mary Clifton, deceased, on a credit of one, two, three, and four years, with interest from the sale, on the whole, payable annually. One is a carpenter, two are first-rate cooks, one a carriage-driver, one a smart waiting-boy, two girls were brought up as house-servants, and the other is a little boy. The purchaser will be required to give good personal security, and also a mortgage of the property.

“ANDREW WALLACE, Ex'r.”

“Committed to the jail of Laurens District, a negro woman, named Peggy, who says she belongs to Adam Zimmerman, of Orangeburgh District, near Judge Bay’s plantation. Peggy is an African\* woman, about middle size, speaks quick, and appears rather insane, and fifty or sixty years old.

“A. C. JONES, S. L. D.”

“Committed to the jail of Lancaster District on the 29th inst. as a runaway, a negro man, who calls his name Bob, alias Paris. He is an African,\* about forty-five years of age, five feet three or four inches high, speaks very broken, and says that he was set free

\* This means born in Africa, and recently imported from thence.

by Reuben Bozzel, of Mecklenberg County, N. C. The owner is requested to come forward, prove property, pay charges, and take him away.  
"L. SECREST, J. L. D."

In the same newspaper from which these notices are taken, are short reports of two cases carried up from the inferior courts of the district to the court of appeal at Charleston, which are remarkable illustrations of the law and custom as it regards property in slaves. The first exhibits the care that is taken of the slaves in contracts for hire, so as not to expose their lives to hazard, and the liability of such as hire them to make compensation to the owner in case of death, or loss by any exposure provided against in the contract. The following is the report of the case.

"*Walther et al. ads. Sampson H. Butler.*—O'NEALL, Justice.—Defendant employed plaintiff's slaves to work on the railroad, and covenanted 'not to *expose* the slaves to rain or other bad weather, or *dangers of any kind.*' After knocking off work, one evening, the overseer of defendants suffered the slaves to get into a hand-car of the Railroad Company, which came by at the time, in order to ride over a pond, covered with thick ice, through which the road passed, at an elevation of fourteen feet, and to avoid which, the slaves had to make a considerable circuit on the way to their encampment. When over the middle of the pond, a locomotive made its appearance, and to escape it, those in the hand-car had to jump out, and some safely descended to the pond by the posts of the road, but one of the slaves, in attempting to descend, fell, and was so much injured as to die in a few days. Held that the defendants were liable on their covenant, for the injury sustained, as well from the omission of their overseer to prevent the slave from exposing himself to the danger, as if from placing him in danger by their command."

The second is still more remarkable. It frequently happens, that wealthy persons dying in the South, begin to feel, as they approach their deathbed, some

stings of conscience as to the injustice of holding men in forced bondage, and depriving them, both of their personal freedom and the just reward of their labour. Such persons frequently try to soothe these stings, by making a will bequeathing freedom to their slaves, after they themselves shall die, and the slaves be of course no longer of any use to them. Even this cheap method of restitution is not allowed, however, by the laws of the Southern States, which prohibit any person from giving freedom to their slaves, unless they remove them at the same time from the territory. To evade this law, they are sometimes bequeathed in trust to an executor, who stands in the place of a nominal master, allowing the slaves to work for themselves, and receive the benefit of their own labours. But this again has been declared illegal; and such persons thus apparently set free, may be seized by *any one* who may choose to take them, and made slaves to such seizer, as their owner! This will seem incredible, no doubt, without proof. Here then is the report of such a case, and its decision—

*“ Rebecca Rhame v. James Ferguson and John Dangerfield.*  
BUTLER, Justice.—A will, bequeathing slaves to an Ex’or, in trust, to suffer them to appropriate their time and labour to their own use and to govern themselves, is an attempt to evade the law of the State against emancipation of slaves, and, if attempted to be carried into effect by the Ex’or, will subject the slaves to seizure and ownership by any one, under the act of 1800. The Ex’or of such a will may lawfully take possession of the slaves, to administer the estate; but whether the trust be void, or a court of equity will enforce it (in which event they might be escheatable, according to the case of *Fable v. Brown*) are questions for another tribunal. Under this exposition of the law, the jury having found against the plaintiff, the alleged captor, motion for a new trial dismissed.

"Seizure under the act of 1800 may be:—1. By an actual tangible possession of the slaves. 2. By such a subjugation of them as to make them virtually prisoners. 3. By voluntary surrender of the slaves, as captives."

I have mentioned the avidity with which English novels are sought after in America, and particularly the eagerness with which all the copies of Lady Lytton Bulwer's novel was sought after in Columbia. The following notice of it from the South Carolinian of June, after the remarks adverted to were written, will corroborate this. After announcing, in a leading article, that a fresh supply of this novel had been received at the principal bookstore of the town, the editor says—

"We have not yet had time to read this work, and consequently can say nothing of it from our own knowledge; but, from the extensive notice it has attracted, and the sensation it has created, both in Europe and this country, be it what it may, it will be sought after and read with more avidity than any book that has appeared for years. Most of our readers are already aware, that it is a novel from the pen of the lady of the celebrated author, Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer, from whom she has been some time, separated, and is designed as a satire on him, and the leading members of his family, as also, on several of his friends. It is said to be remarkable, alike for talent, and, for bitter caustic, and unfeminine severity. A key to the characters is given as follows, by a late London paper."

Nearly half a column of the paper is then devoted to the "Key," in which all the several characters of the novel are appropriated to the different personages they are supposed to represent. But when Miss Martineau's new novel of "Deerbrook" comes to be noticed as imported also at the bookstore, it is as briefly as uncourteously despatched. Miss Martineau's

Strictures on American Society are more unpopular in every part of America, north and south, that we have yet visited, than even Mrs. Trollope's or Captain Basil Hall's works; but in the Slave States especially, her bold and uncompromising denunciation of this plague-spot on the national escutcheon, and exposure of its evils, has made her name hateful to the great majority of the people. After barely naming the fact, that the new novel of "Deerbrook," by Harriet Martineau, may also be found at the same bookstore with "Richelieu," by Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer, and "Cheveley, or the Man of Honour," by his Lady, the Southern editor thus despatches Miss Martineau—

"Having no very high opinion of the *Great unsexed*, or anything published by her heretofore, we have not only *not* read this, but have no inclination to do so."

Here, as in most parts of the South, the fertile sections of the country are the most unhealthy, and the sandy and barren are the most salubrious. Accordingly, spots, which in England would be the most uninviting for residences, are here in great request, and to invest them with all becoming dignity, lofty and high-sounding names are given to them, of ancient cities, temples, and fanes. The following is an announcement of a residence of this description to let, and, considering its position in the sands, the name is at least appropriate.

"*DESIRABLE SAND-HILL RESIDENCE.*—I will lease Palmyra, with the vineyard, and all appurtenances, for the term of four years.—Apply to me, A. HERBEMONT."

## CHAP. II.

From Columbia to Augusta—Lexington—Healthiness of this region—New description of cotton recently grown here—Early song of birds—Leesville—Country-houses—Mosquito-hawk—Edgefield—Approach to Augusta—Cotton cultivation—Great increase in the quantity produced—Different kinds of cotton grown—Entry into Hamburg—Caravan of slaves—Arrival at the Planter's hotel—Entire destruction of the hotel by fire—Losses sustained by this sudden conflagration—Supposed to be the work of discontented slaves—Frequent adoption of this mode of revenge—Conduct of Southern students towards Abolitionists.

ON Saturday the 15th of June, we left Columbia for Augusta, and having taken the whole of the stage for ourselves, we had the advantage of room and comfort, which, in this hot weather, was especially agreeable.

Leaving Columbia about four o'clock, we crossed the Congaree river by the bridge over which we entered the town from Charleston, and soon got into the woods, which continued all the way, with little intermission, till we reached the village of Lexington, about thirteen miles from Columbia.

Lexington is a very favourite name in the United States, there being not less than eighteen towns already so called—after Lexington in Massachusetts, about eleven miles from Boston, where the first blood was shed in the revolutionary war. That, however, is still a small place; having not more than 1,500 inhabitants. There is a Lexington in New York State, with 2,500 inhabitants. But the largest town of this name is in Kentucky, containing 7,000 inhabitants. There are no less than three Lexingtons in Pennsylvania, and three in Ohio; the others are

in Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, so that they are widely scattered. Three miles beyond Lexington we arrived at a single post-house, called, as is the custom here, after the name of the man who kept it, Rawles's, where we were to sleep for a few hours, having reached this at eight o'clock, intending to start again in the morning at two.

The house, though humble, was one of the neatest and cleanest of its kind. In the piazza or balcony in front, it had water, with a tin wash-basin, soap, and a rolling towel, provided for the passengers; and in the interior it had clean beds and wholesome fare, which we enjoyed greatly. The old host, nearly eighty years of age, was courteous, intelligent, and communicative; and his sons and daughters were affable and obliging. He had taken a part in the revolutionary war, being then a young man about twenty; he fought in several of the battles and skirmishes that took place in South Carolina, with the British troops, who came up thus far from Charleston. He was a native of this State, and had never been out of it. His principal occupation had been farming, and to this his chief attention was still directed; though, in conjunction with this, he had kept this post-house, for it could hardly be called an inn, for twenty-six years. Our road for the greater part of the way from Columbia thus far had been sandy, and the pine-forests on each side dry, of the description of land usually called "pine-barren;" and it may give some idea of the healthiness of this region, to mention a fact stated to us by Mr. Rawles, namely, that during all the twenty-six years he had

resided here, no single case of fever or any other sickness had occurred among any of his household, though in the low country of the same State, the climate was so unhealthy in summer and autumn, that even the white natives were unable to remain on their plantations in July and August.

Cotton-planting is the chief occupation of the farmers in this region ; and we heard here of a new species of cotton, said to have been recently brought from a field of the Petit-Gulf-Cotton, in Alabama, which has these peculiarities. It grows much taller than the ordinary plant, reaching eight or nine feet, instead of four or five. It has lateral branches unusually short, being not more than four or five inches from the main stem ; and these bear clusters of six or seven pods on each branch. It has leaves like the ordinary cotton-plant, but in other respects it resembles the okra, or, as it is called in the East, the barmeah. It ripens much earlier than other cotton ; and is, therefore, likely to escape the worm, which commits great havoc on the late crops of the South. The cotton is much finer than any other of the short-staple kinds, and commands a price of four or five cents more per pound ; at the same time, the produce of the plant is much more abundant. It is but new at present, and the seed is accordingly scarce and dear ; but little doubt is entertained that it will soon be very generally cultivated ; and, like the new introduction of the *morus multicaulis*, 100,000 trees of which were advertised for sale on one farm alone while we were at Columbia, it will add greatly to the wealth of the country.

After a quiet and refreshing sleep, we arose at two



o'clock in the morning, and resumed our journey in the same conveyance. The road lay still through the thick forest, with only here and there an open patch of cultivation on either side. The coolness of the night was a most agreeable relief to us after the burning days we had recently experienced; and as the road was still sandy, and our coach passed noiselessly through its deep mass, we enjoyed the full chorus of the feathered throng, as they began their early matins at the first peep of dawn, and made the woods ring with their vocal melody. The opening of the day was also beautiful, from the many gorgeously tinted clouds and richly varied hues of the eastern sky, that preceded the rising of the sun; while the freshness of the morning breeze, and the balmy odours of the many wild flowers which rose among the undergrowth of the forest, added greatly to our pleasure.

At seven o'clock we arrived at another of the single post-houses that are stationed along the road; and we found this even superior in cleanliness and comfort to the one in which we slept. It was kept by a widow lady and her children, the husband being recently dead; and though there were not more than three or four dwellings within a mile of it, the place was called Leesville, from the builder and owner of the post-house, whose name was Lee. Nothing could be more comfortable than the appearance of the whole establishment; and we enjoyed our clean and comfortable breakfast accordingly. We saw here two fine specimens of the sparrowhawk, about the size of pigeons, with dark-brown speckled feathers on the back and neck, large head,

large black eyes, and a strong curved beak. They were let out from a pigeon-house, in which they were kept, every morning; and they usually found occupation and provender enough in destroying the sparrows around the house and gardens, and thus protecting the fruit from their devastation. It was sometimes necessary, however, to shoot small birds in addition to this, to satisfy their craving appetites, and attach them to the house. In these secluded situations the nighthawk is also a very useful auxiliary, and fortunately they abound. While the sparrowhawk makes the smaller birds its prey, for which its talons, head, neck, and beak, are admirably fitted; the nighthawk, which resembles a large swallow in its appearance and flight, confines its pursuit to insects. From an hour or two before sunset, to dusk, it may be seen chasing its prey, and turning in quick flight and with sharp and sudden bendings after the insects, of which it destroys incredible numbers, and thus saves the trees, shrubs, and flowers from their ravages. Another description of destroyer is common here, called the mosquito-hawk, a large insect of the moth species, which seems created to devour mosquitoes, and is accordingly never destroyed itself by man. It is placed in bedrooms for the express purpose of chasing and destroying the little venomous and troublesome creatures, that delight to revel on human blood; and the service it renders in this way are highly acceptable. This part of the system of Nature, by which it would seem that all creatures are intended to destroy and devour one another, from the insects that are eaten by the bird, to be itself again eaten by

other birds ; and the various quadrupeds and fishes that prey upon each other, and afterwards yield food to man, who is himself to be devoured by worms in his turn—is among the many mysteries, which will, perhaps, be revealed to us hereafter, but which has always seemed to me among the most inscrutable of the many which forbid all hope of being penetrated here.

We continued our way from hence on to Edgefield, still through dense forests, with more of undulation of surface than before, but with no other peculiarity, and reached this place, a county-town, distant from Columbia sixty-two miles, and from Augusta twenty-two, about one o'clock. Here, in the midst of an apparently thriving town, with a fine brick Court House, and a large number of dwellings and stores, we alighted at a spacious and apparently promising hotel ; but when we sat down to the dinner which it provided, the fare was so bad, and the whole aspect of the table so dirty and revolting, that we were unable to partake of anything. The contrast was the more striking, after the clean and comfortable accommodation which we had enjoyed at the houses of much less promise, on the previous part of the road ; and added another to the many proofs we had already received, that, in American hotels, a fine exterior is not always a sign of good fare within ; and that in the humblest halting-places on the road, greater comforts may sometimes be enjoyed, than in houses with the loftiest pretensions.

We changed our conveyance here, from the small four-inside coach, to the large nine-inside, in general use throughout the country ; but found the larger

one the least comfortable of the two, from its great weight occasioning it to roll about so much more in the uneven and hilly roads over which the remainder of our way lay. These coaches are built with great strength, without which, indeed, they could not endure the shocks and joltings they receive ; and therefore they are unavoidably very heavy. They are almost all constructed at Troy, near to Albany, in the State of New York, whence they are sent, in pieces, to various parts of the Union, and put together by coach-builders when they arrive. This, at least, is the practice in the distant States, to which it would be difficult and expensive to convey them when built ; but to places near the seat of their manufacture, they are conveyed whole. They cost, at the first hand, about 600 dollars, or 120*l.* sterling when new ; though I think in England such coaches could not be made for that sum.

As we approached Augusta, the cotton-fields became more frequent ; and I ascertained that here, as elsewhere, the high price of cotton during the present year had induced all the landowners to devote every acre they could command to the planting an increased quantity of this article. Land of every description at all adapted for cotton growth, had, therefore, risen in demand and in price ; and in many places, uncleared-land, thickly covered with forest-trees, could not be had for less than ten dollars an acre ; the usual Government price being only a dollar and a quarter. In some few instances, land partially cleared had been rented by the year, because the proprietor would not sell, as in this country, proprietors are almost always cultivators of their

own soil, and the relation of landlord and tenant rarely exists. As much as three dollars an acre had been paid for annual rent only, which was thought very high, and only such as the present high price of cotton would justify.

The vast quantity of cotton now raised in this and other States of America, was little anticipated even half a century ago; for when, in 1784, a duty was proposed in Congress on the importation of foreign cotton, it was not generally supposed that it could be grown in the United States. Some few only thought it possible; and one of the representatives from this State, South Carolina, is stated to have remarked on this occasion, that it was contemplated by some of his constituents, to try the experiment of cultivating cotton there; and some were sanguine enough to believe, that if good seed could be procured, they might probably succeed. Soon after this, indeed, when a small quantity of cotton was landed from an American vessel in Liverpool, and entered as the produce of the United States, it was seized as contraband, and deemed to be the production of some other country, probably India, Turkey, or Brazil; as it was not then believed that cotton could be grown in any part of the new republic of North America. In little more than half a century since that time, it now exports nearly two millions of bales annually; and there seem every probability that it will be doubled in a few years, as millions of acres within the States now growing cotton are yet uncleared, and wait only increased population to be converted to the same profitable purpose. Nor can there be, for many years to come, any doubt of its increasing consump-

tion, as rapidly as it can be produced. Continued peace in Europe, and the consequent advance of its population in possession of the means of enjoyment, must lead to an increased demand for an article that enters so largely into personal apparel and domestic use ; for every increase of means among the bulk of the people, must lead to an increased expenditure in these essential elements of cleanliness and comfort.

There are three kinds of cotton grown at present : the nankeen cotton, which produces a brownish-yellow wool, and can be made up without dying, so as to look like dark nankeen, similar to that made in Malta ; and two descriptions of white cotton, one with green and the other with black seeds. The nankeen and the green-seed cotton are both short-staple, and are grown in the upland parts of the States. The black-seed is the long-staple, and is grown on the sea islands along the borders of the Atlantic, where, or in the vicinity of the sea, it is thought it can only be produced. The quantity grown is therefore less, but the price is higher than the others, as the staple is long, fine, silky, and white, and therefore adapted for the very finest fabrics.

It was sunset as we entered Hamburgh, the town recently built on the Carolina side of the Savannah river, and right opposite to Augusta. We saw here, a number of waggons and carts, in which negroes had been brought from the north, on their way from Virginia, where they are extensively bred for this purpose, down towards Georgia and Alabama, where they are in great demand for the increasing cultivation of cotton, though many of them, we learnt, were likely to be bought up here. The price of a com-

mon field-negro we ascertained to be from 800 to 1,000 dollars; of an artisan, a carpenter, or smith, 1,500 dollars; and of a smart active boy of fourteen, about 500 dollars; women of an age to begin the bearing of children, from 600 to 800 dollars, according to their good appearance and strength of constitution. The manner in which they were huddled together for conveyance, was greatly inferior in comfort to that in which sheep, calves, and hogs are carried to market; and the consciousness of the hard fate awaiting them, which was visible on the countenances of most, made them look much more wretched than "sheep led to the slaughter."

A glaring instance of the attempt to keep back the truth on this subject was pointed out in a paper which I met with at the hotel where we changed our coaches, the "National Gazette," of Philadelphia, of the 11th of June, and which had just arrived by the last post from thence. It was so apposite, and is at the same time so truly illustrative of the influence of party-feeling in this country on the subject of slavery, that it deserves to be transcribed. Mr. Paulding, the present Secretary of the United States' Navy, was for a long while a popular writer of books, and being of the democratic side in politics, he was recently appointed to his present office. The Democrats, in violation of the first principles of their political creed, are in general the most zealous supporters of slavery, and the fiercest denouncers of the Abolitionists, though there are many Whigs who are hardly less zealous than they. Mr. Van Buren is supported by nearly the whole South, because of his hostility to Abolitionism, and it is thus that his

adherents commend themselves to his patronage. Here is the article from the Gazette, in proof—

“The ‘Louisville Journal’ exposes an instance of truckling to party opinion, in the conduct of Mr. Paulding, which is not unworthy of the great moral Janus himself. Several years ago, ere the Secretary of the Navy indulged the hope of a cabinet post ; and before the mystical Kinderhook confession of faith was given to the world, he wrote a series of ‘Letters from the South,’ well known to the reading public. He was, then, if we may form an opinion from the following paragraph, which is found in the first editions of those ‘Letters,’ an opponent of slavery, or at least of certain practices under the system.

“‘The sun was shining out very hot, and in turning an angle of the road, we encountered the following group : first, a little cart drawn by one horse, in which *five or six half-naked black children were tumbled like pigs together*. The cart had no covering, and they seemed to have been actually broiled to sleep. Behind the cart marched three black women, with head, neck, and breasts uncovered, and without shoes or stockings ; next came three men, bareheaded, half-naked, and *chained together with an ox-chain*. Last of all came a white man—a white man, Frank !—on horseback, carrying pistols in his belt ; and who, as we passed him, had the impudence to look us in the face without blushing. *I should like to have seen him hunted by bloodhounds*. At a house where we stopped a little further on, we learnt that he had bought these miserable beings in Maryland, and was marching them in this manner to some of the more Southern States. Shame on the State of Maryland ! I say—and shame on the State of Virginia ! and every State through which this wretched cavalcade was permitted to pass. Do they expect that such exhibitions will not dishonour them in the eyes of strangers, however they may be reconciled to them by education and habit ?’

“Recently the ‘complete works’ of the Secretary of the Navy have been published, but the reader will look in vain for the passage quoted above. True to his patron, Mr. Paulding now ranks among the ‘Northern men with Southern principles,’ and his ‘complete works’ exhibit, instead of the anti-slavery picture which he formerly drew, an essay in *defence* of the institution, of which the annexed extract is a specimen—

“‘The second cause of disunion will be found in the slave-population of the South, *whenever* the misguided, or wilfully



malignant, zeal of the advocates of emancipation, shall institute, *as it one day doubtless will*, a crusade against the constitutional rights of the slave-owners, by sending among them fanatical agents and fanatical tracts, calculated to render the slave disaffected, and the situation of the master and his family dangerous; when appeals shall be made, under the sanction of religion, to the passions of these ignorant and excited blacks, calculated and intended to rouse their worst and most dangerous passions, and to place the very lives of their masters, their wives, and their children, in the deepest peril; *when societies are formed* in the sister States for the avowed purpose of virtually destroying the value of this principal item in the property of a Southern planter, when it becomes a question mooted in the legislatures of the States, or of the General Government, whether the rights of the master over his slave shall be any longer recognized or maintained, and when it is at last evident that nothing will preserve them but secession, then will certain of the States of our beautiful constellation 'start madly from their spheres, and jostle the others in their wild career.' "

This is a melancholy proof of the influence of position and party-spirit, not in changing men's opinions (for it probably does not effect that) but in inducing them to profess opposite ones, in the truth or soundness of which they do not themselves believe, for the sake of office and of gain. But, alas! this abandonment of truth, and propagation of falsehood for political and party-purposes, is not confined to the functionaries of the United States; for England could furnish examples equally numerous and disgraceful. But, in whatever country such abandonment of principle is shown, public odium should cover the names of the renegades with shame.

We crossed the Savannah river, and reached Augusta at eight o'clock, and after our long, hot, and sandy ride, were glad to find good quarters in the Planter's Hotel. The tranquil and agreeable rest which we enjoyed there, however, on the first day after our arrival, was like the calm which pre-

cedes a storm ; for in the middle of the night that succeeded it, namely, on Monday the 17th of June, we had to experience all the horrors of a raging fire, and to be burnt out from this hotel with such suddenness and rapidity, as to require instant flight to save our lives.

It was about two hours past midnight, when the first alarm of fire was given, the discovery being accidentally made by a gentleman returning home late through the streets ; and he, perceiving no sign of movement in the hotel itself, though one end of it was in flames, ran to the door, and roused up some of the slaves sleeping in the passages. These, as soon as they had recovered from their stupor, awoke others, and these again assisted to awaken the inmates ; but from the common practice of locking the bed-room doors, to prevent the night-pilfering of the slaves, who are the only servants, it was with the greatest difficulty that some could be awakened at all, so that the fire had passed through nearly half the building, before any one had been roused from their beds ; and two-thirds of the hotel was in flames, before those in the remoter parts of the house were up and in motion. At the time of our being called, the appearance was so alarming, that we thought it most prudent not to remain a moment, but, throwing over us the few loose garments at hand, we rushed into the street, where from fifty to sixty persons, lodging in the hotel, had already assembled in a similar condition ; many, indeed, had only the night-clothes in which they retired to rest ; and the greater number of them had abandoned everything to the flames, considering themselves sufficiently fortunate

to escape with their lives. Our faithful man-servant, James Wright, a native of Belfast, in Ireland, whom we had had with us during all our Travels in America, though especially enjoined to withdraw from the house, and not incur the least risk of danger by attempting to save anything, thought fit, in his zeal, to disregard this injunction; and having gained access to our bed-room by one of the galleries or passages, he made a rope of bed-sheets by knotting their ends together, and in less than five minutes lowered down all the trunks that were accessible, and then throwing out the bed-mattresses to soften his fall, he leaped from the window on them, a height of upwards of twenty feet, as by this time the passages were all wrapt in flames, and the very rafters of the bed-room from which he leaped, had begun to fall on the floor, so that escape by any other channel was impossible. Happily he sustained only a slight injury by the fall, from which he soon recovered. Our own loss was not so great as that of many, but a thousand dollars would not cover the value of the articles lost by us in this conflagration, while no money could replace the drawings, sketches, minerals, herbarium and flora, of *many months'* collection, which there was not time to gather up and collect together, in the darkness, smoke, and confusion that prevailed, so that these were all consumed by the flames.

The hotel was one of the oldest and largest in Augusta; it was four stories in height, and contained 104 bed-rooms. Excepting the basement walls, the whole building was constructed of wood, chiefly pitch-pine; and the bar-room and cellars, as usual,

were filled with spirituous liquors. The recent hot and dry weather had also increased the combustibility of all wood-work; and these combinations of causes will account for the amazing rapidity with which the flames spread. It was certainly not more than an hour from the first alarm being given of the fire, before the whole edifice was level with the ground, and entirely reduced to ashes. The conflagration, when at its height, resembled a vast pyramid of solid flame, of about 300 feet at the base, and 200 feet in perpendicular height. The heat given out by this mass was so intense, that persons could not approach nearer than within 100 feet, without being scorched. Fortunately, there was not a breath of air stirring, and the hotel was an isolated building, surrounded by a large open space on all sides. If it had not been so disconnected, the fire would, no doubt, have so extended itself on all sides, as to burn down half the city, as was the case at New York in 1835, Charleston in 1838, and Port Gibson in the present year. The establishment of fire-companies and engines here, is so imperfect as to render them almost useless in arresting conflagrations after they have made any progress; and from the combustible nature of the materials used in building, the flames spread so rapidly as to baffle all attempts to subdue them when they have attained their height. Here there were but two engines, and neither of these arrived till the building was destroyed. Of one of them, the hose was so short as not to reach to the river, where alone water could be procured; and of the other, the condition was so rusty and stiff, as to make it difficult to work; all which seemed the more

surprising to me, when I learnt that so recently as 1829, a great fire destroyed 930 houses in Augusta in the short space of three hours, leaving indeed but very few buildings of all the city unconsumed !

The inhabitants came in great numbers to look at the fire as a sight, but few of them did anything towards its suppression. As to the negro slaves who were among the crowd, it may well be supposed that they would not be likely to volunteer their services in any dangerous enterprise, as it is not the custom to reward them liberally, and all motive to such exertion is therefore destroyed.

In the investigation which took place subsequently, as to the cause of this fire, there was reason to believe that it was not accidental, but the work of some of the slaves belonging to the establishment. The proprietor, Judge Hale, was a humane and kind master ; but he resided in another house, nearly a mile from the hotel, and confided the management of it to others ; moreover, he had lately been ill, and had not visited the hotel for several days. The manager and his assistants, being less just and considerate than the master, exercised, it was said, undue severity on the slaves, or at least on some of them, and imprisonments and whippings were matters of frequent occurrence. In such cases, it is a very usual mode of revenge with the slaves, to burn down the houses of their oppressors ; for by this means they often succeed in breaking up an establishment in such a manner as to lead to a sale of their own persons ; and then they have a chance of release from existing tyranny, by being transferred to a new master, with a hope at least of better treatment.

Such are the effects of the slave-system on the feelings and conduct of those on whom the lives and properties of their masters are so constantly dependent; and yet, all who seek to relieve the owners as well as the slaves from the thousand evil consequences of which this system is the prolific source, by abolishing compulsory service, and substituting free labour in its stead, are branded as the enemies of the slaveowner and the slave, and denounced as the accursed of the earth!

The most recent instance that has been made public, of the fierceness with which the spirit of Southerners breaks out against Abolition and Abolitionists, wherever they may be, is in the following paragraph taken from the New York Observer of June 8, just received at Augusta:—

“Two young men, one of them a law-student, and the other a member of the senior class of Yale College, have been fined six dollars each, for breaking up an Abolition meeting at New Haven, on the 13th inst., by throwing eggs at the speaker (Gerritt Smith,) making a noise,” &c.

Mr. Gerritt Smith is the son of a wealthy citizen of New England, who, at his death, left the munificent sum of 100,000 dollars, or 20,000*l.* sterling, to be devoted to philanthropic and benevolent purposes; and the son following in the footsteps of his revered parent, subscribes yearly large sums for the promotion of education, religion, and other objects of the greatest public good. Among other donations, he lately gave 10,000 dollars to the fund raising in the North, for the promotion of negro emancipation; and this may account for the especial hatred of all the slaveholders of the South, and their connections,

which this act has drawn upon him. The young students here named, as throwing eggs at the speaker, and otherwise disturbing the Abolition meeting at Newhaven, are mentioned in another paper, as being from the South, which will account for their active zeal. But when two young men in such a rank of society as these, students at the principal university of the country, and intended for the bar and the bench of the South, can commit outrages of this description, for the small penalty of six dollars each they will, no doubt, procure this cheap gratification of their vindictive feelings whenever the opportunity offers.

After remaining a sufficient time in Augusta, to repair, as well as we could, the most important part of our losses in the apparel, and other travelling necessities, burnt at the Planter's Hotel, we were glad to quit a scene of such painful associations ; the more especially, as the boarding-house in which we had taken up our quarters after the fire, was right opposite to the ruined pile, so that we could not look out of our window without having the wreck from which we had so recently escaped, constantly before us.

### CHAP. III.

Departure from Augusta for Athens—Journey to Greensborough—Anecdote of a zealous Methodist preacher—Stage-route to Athens—Ascending country—Oak lands—River Oconee—Rattlesnakes abounding on the lower banks—Excessive drought—Crops of wheat and oats—Introduction of Baden corn—Extreme productiveness—Mulatto corn and cotton by amalgamation—Arrival at Salem—Violent storm—Halt at Watkinsville—Arrival at Athens.

AT six o'clock on the morning of Friday, the 21st of June, we left Augusta for Athens, in the northern part of the same State of Georgia, intending to go from thence through the mountains into North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia, on to the mineral springs among the ranges of the Alleghanies, which are greatly resorted to by the opulent families of the Southern and Western States, during the hot summer months.

Our route from Augusta to Greensborough, was by railroad, for a distance of eighty-four miles, and being through an almost continuous forest of pines, it offered nothing new to our observation. The rate of speed was about fifteen miles an hour while



in motion, or twelve miles including stoppages, as we were seven hours going the eighty-four miles, stopping to breakfast, and several times to replenish fire-wood and water during the way ; and the rate of charge was five cents a mile.

At Greensborough, which is an old, though still a very small place, not containing more than fifty houses, we dined at one o'clock, and here the railroad terminating for the present—though it is intended to carry it all the way to Athens—there were stage-coaches in waiting to convey passengers from the north, west, and south, to their respective destinations. Among the buildings pointed out to us at Greensborough by a gentleman of our party who was born there, and was now nearly sixty years of age—which makes Greensborough a very old settlement for this part of America—was the Methodist church, a rude building of rough planks, suited to a sect, who have the undoubted precedence of all other denominations, in pioneering the way for the Gospel in the wilds and woods of this continent. The class of preachers whom they send forth to “cry in the wilderness,” are often as rough and rude as their churches, but not the less zealous or self-denying, because of their want of polish or refinement, though sometimes giving utterance to sentiments and expressions, which they would themselves find it perhaps difficult to explain. One of these pioneers of the forest, was preaching in the Methodist church at a period when the country not far from this was possessed by the Cherokee Indians ; and in the attempt made to eject them from their lands,

they had recourse to arms for resistance. The white settlers, accordingly, often felt the edge of the tomahawk and the scalping-knife, as they continue to do in Florida at the present moment. In addition to the usual means of defence adopted by the whites, prayers were put up in the different congregations for delivery from this scourge; and at the end of an appeal of great fervour to the Almighty for protection, the preacher in this church exclaimed, "Spare us, good Lord, and deliver us from this evil; but if it be thy will to scourge us with thine afflictions, and chasten us with thy wrath—if, in short, it be thy pleasure to let us fall into the hands of savages, O let it be into thine, O Lord!" To which the congregation, of which our informant represented himself as being one, responded in the fervent manner which characterizes the devotion of the Methodists, "Amen, Lord, amen,"—their feelings being, no doubt, too completely absorbed in the consideration of the perils that surrounded them, to admit of any rigid criticism of their pastor's language or meaning.

From Greensborough we proceeded in a four-horse stage-coach, well appointed, and with an excellent driver; and having only six passengers inside, we had abundant room. Our journey to Athens was forty miles, and the fare ten cents per mile, just double the rate by the railroad, while our speed on the average was five miles an hour. The road became hilly within a few miles after our leaving Greensborough, and all the way onward we appeared to be ascending. The soil changed from sandy to a red indurated clay, and we soon lost the pine-forests, and came into woods of red and white oak,

which furnished better shade, and afforded an agreeable relief to the eye.

In our way, about twelve miles from Greensborough, we passed over the Oconee river, which descends from hence till it joins the Ocmulgee, below Macon, and these together form the Altamaha, discharging itself into the Atlantic at Darien, below Savannah. The river was very low, in consequence of the scanty supply of water from above, no rain having fallen in this quarter since the month of March. The stream was here about fifty yards broad, and we crossed it in a flat ferryboat drawn by a chain. We learnt that on the banks of the river, rattlesnakes abounded, and one of our fellow-passengers stated that he had seen one caught or killed near this stream, which measured upwards of nine feet in length.

We were joined here by a communicative and intelligent planter, just from his plantation, from whom we learnt that the excessive drought had been already fatal to a large portion of the crop of cotton now in the ground. Indeed, this was sufficiently visible to the eye, many fields exhibiting stunted plants, their colour being hardly distinguishable from the dust of the earth that covered them. Some crops of oats were in a similar condition ; but many fields of wheat had been reaped, and the sheaves were now gathering in, the wheat harvest being generally over in the middle of June ; and the maize or Indian corn was in a very flourishing condition. We learnt from this gentleman that there had been lately introduced into this State, a new description of grain, called Baden corn, from its successful

cultivator, a Mr. Baden, of Maryland, who had taken the pains to select the best ears or cobs of corn from his own fields, and plant them in the most favourable position ; going on from year to year in this manner, in the belief that he should thus greatly improve its quality, and increase its productiveness. For the first five years, there was no very perceptible difference ; but in the sixth it became visibly improved ; and this process being continued for twenty-five years in succession, had produced a corn of such additional productiveness, that it now yields about 250-fold, while the ordinary rate of increase in the common corn, is not more than 100-fold, or 120 in the best years. The buckwheat is also cultivated here, and yields two crops of grain in the year. It was stated, that in the cultivation of the white and the brown cotton, in parallel ridges, which is sometimes done, it will often happen that from the mingling of the blossom-flowers, or the fine powder blown from them, a sort of mulatto-cotton, or mixed kind, will be produced by the amalgamation ; and the same thing has been observed of the red corn and the yellow, each of which will give, by mingling, a portion of its tinge of colour to the other. Of the brown or nankeen cotton very little is exported, as it is wrought up into nankeen cloth here, and is largely consumed in the apparel of the country-people for summer wear ; none of it, we were told, had ever been sent to England, as far at least as our informant knew. It is somewhat dearer than the white cotton, and makes most durable cloth ; but by repeated washing, the colour gradually grows lighter and lighter, and

if washed and bleached often, it will fade away entirely, and become quite white.

About ten miles beyond the river Oconee, we came to a village called Salem, a very favourite name in the United States, of which there are not less than thirty-eight places so called in the different States of the Union. The oldest and largest of these is the Salem of Massachusetts, near Boston ; but in addition to this there is one in New Hampshire, one in Vermont, one in Connecticut, one in North Carolina, one in Tennessee, one in Kentucky, one in Indiana, and one in Illinois ; two in New Jersey, two in Georgia, three in New York, three in Virginia, five in Pennsylvania, and fourteen in Ohio ! Little did the ancient founders of the Salem of Melchizedek, on Mount Zion, in Judea, anticipate so extensive a multiplication of the name of their City of Peace, in a world to them entirely unknown !

We had scarcely arrived at Salem before the sky began to be overcast, and in less than a quarter of an hour the heavens were of an inky blackness, threatening an immediate and violent storm. The driver persisted, against our wish, in going forward, instead of our taking shelter at Salem till the storm should be over, as it was likely to be of short duration ; and we accordingly encountered it in all its force. The gusts of wind which first came, were so powerful as to prevent the horses advancing, and the dust and sand were blown up in such thick clouds, as to render it impossible to see the edges of the road from the centre. We were obliged to close the curtains and windows of the coach, and remain in perfect darkness, while the horses stood still, with their

heads lowered to the ground, and the driver placed his back to the gale. This darkness was first penetrated by the most vivid lightning and peals of thunder, succeeded by torrents of rain, which almost deluged the road; and notwithstanding all our exertions to exclude the water from the coach, it penetrated at every crevice, and soon wetted it in every part. The storm did not last more than half an hour; yet such was its violence, that large trees were uprooted and thrown across the road, obliging us to turn in to the adjoining woods, and go round them; and in the hollows of the fields between the ridges of the cotton and corn plants, the water lay on the surface apparently five or six inches in depth, while in every declivity, torrents were formed, some of which were difficult and even dangerous to traverse.

Eleven miles from Salem, we came to Watkinsville, a still smaller village, where we took tea, or supper, about eight o'clock; and though this was the longest day in the year, and the thermometer had been above 90° at noon, it was now so cold as to make a blazing wood-fire agreeable. Continuing on from this place by a more steeply ascending road, for about eight miles further, we reached Athens soon after ten, and alighted at the Planter's Hotel.

As the elevation of this town is at least 1,000 feet above the level of the sea, we had a much cooler atmosphere than we had experienced for many months. Our first night, after the thunderstorm, was especially agreeable; and for the first time for many weeks past, we were free from the annoyance of mosquitos, which abound in all the low country from April to November.

## CHAP. IV.

Public funeral of the late Judge Clayton—Oration delivered over his corpse—Startling statement of prevailing infidelity—Robberies by negroes—Grotesque exhibition of the militia-muster—Phi-Kappa and Demosthenian societies—Description of Athens—Population, character, and manners—Organization and government of the University—Classical names of places—Strength of local attachment—Literary taste of the South—Entire expulsion of the negroes to Africa advocated—The blacks considered to be the “great beast” of scripture—The church declares that “slavery is not a moral evil”—Appearance and manners of a Southern debating club—Brilliant evening party at the University—Style of Southern beauty, dress, and manners—Botanical garden—Night-blooming *Cercus*—Mineralogical collection—Indian antiquities.

ON the morning of the first Sunday after our arrival at Athens, we attended the public funeral of the venerable Judge Clayton, one of the most distinguished members of the community here. The service was solemn and impressive. The judge, though a man of great integrity, and unexceptionable morality, was throughout life an avowed unbeliever in Christianity. He was one of the first graduates of the University of Athens, and its most zealous friend and patron: he was learned, intelligent, virtuous, and universally honoured and esteemed, both for his public and private character; yet he made no scruple to avow himself openly a

deist ; and this, too, it would seem, without in any degree lessening his standing in society. About twelve months since, he was struck with paralysis—being then fifty-five years of age ; and feeling that death could not but be near at hand, his mind and heart became subdued. He expressed a desire to see the minister of the Methodist church ; and the result of the interview was, that the judge, as soon as he had sufficiently recovered from the first shock of his paralysis, publicly joined this church, by going up to the altar, in the face of the whole congregation, on a Sabbath morning, when the church was full, and there giving in his public adhesion as a communicant and member. From this time onward, he continued in close fellowship with the Methodist body ; and died in the fullest and most unreserved communication of his steadfastness in the faith, accompanied with deep regrets that he had lived a life of unbelief, by which he had lost “oceans of happiness”—this was his expression—to himself, and set a dangerous example to others.

These circumstances gave unusual interest to his funeral, as it was to be made the occasion of a public address over the body of the deceased, by his own pastor, who had attended him in his last moments. The time chosen for the service was the forenoon of the Sabbath ; and each of the three churches of Athens suspended their regular morning worship, for the purpose of uniting their respective congregations in one. The place of assembling was the chapel of the University, the largest of the public buildings here ; and at nine o'clock, the hour appointed, it was filled in every part, the lower floor being occupied by the



white population, the females in the centre, and the males at the sides, and the galleries being filled by negroes, one side by the men, and the other by the women; this separation of the sexes being usual among the Methodists, in all their assemblies for public worship. On the platform were seated the whole of the clergymen of the town, including Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist. Immediately before them, and elevated so as to be seen by the whole audience, was placed the coffin containing the corpse. This was borne into the chapel by six gentlemen, personal friends of the deceased, who carried it on two longitudinal poles; they wore white scarfs or sashes, thrown over the right shoulder, and fastened in a knot on the left side, with crape ribbons hanging or floating from the right arm. The coffin was made of oak, and quite plain, there being neither handles, escutcheon, gilt or silver nails, covering or pall of any description, but everything was characterized by the extremest simplicity.

The Methodist pastor, Mr. Smith, of Charleston, conducted the funeral service, which differed in nothing from the ordinary routine of public worship, in the succession of prayer, singing, and preaching, except in the sermon being one especially adapted to the occasion. It was marked by great solemnity, powerful argument, and forcible appeal, and sufficiently imbued with sorrowful feeling, to make it at once devotional and affectionate. The bereaved family of the deceased occupied the pew immediately in front of the corpse, while the numerous personal friends of the late judge, surrounded these mourning survivors; and the united effect of the scene, and the

address of the speaker, was such as to fill the assembly with tears. Excepting the Quaker funeral which we witnessed at Saratoga in the summer of the last year, I never remember to have seen or heard anything more impressive, or better adapted to awaken the most indifferent to the duty of preparing for death, than the scene before us on this occasion.

Mr. Smith was followed in his address by Mr. Hoyt, the Presbyterian clergyman, who had also had opportunities of personal communication with the deceased, between the period of his first paralysis and his death, and who, therefore, thought it his duty to corroborate much that had been said by the previous speaker, as to the openly avowed scepticism and infidelity of the late judge up to that period, and his sincere conversion to a belief in the truth of Christianity, in which faith he died. In the course of his address, however, he stated, that though he had been a minister of the gospel for upwards of twenty years in this country, this was the only well-authenticated instance that he had met with, during all that time, of a man who, like the judge, had been thirty years an unbeliever, and had afterwards avowed his conversion to the truth. He had generally found that men died as they lived, and that real conversion from long-established and openly-avowed infidelity was very rare. He, moreover, asserted his conscientious conviction, that the great majority of the men whom he saw before him, were in the same condition of unbelief, as that in which the deceased had passed nearly the whole of his life; and though many of them, perhaps, attended religious ordinances for the sake of standing well with their neighbours, yet he

feared very few of them had any active belief in the truth of Christianity, but were infidels and sceptics, living without God and without hope in the world : all which seemed to be silently received as matter of course, and, as far as I could judge, excited neither surprise, nor any symptom of dissent, from any portion of the congregation.

At the close, the corpse was borne to the grave by the same personal friends of the deceased who brought it to the chapel, and was followed there by his sorrowing family, and a large concourse of his fellow-citizens, the greater number in carriages, and many also on foot.

In the evening of the same day, we attended the anniversary of the Athens Bible Society, at which I had been specially invited, and strongly pressed to deliver an address, especially as to the state of those pagan countries of the East, with which my travels had made me acquainted, and the influence of their idolatrous worship on the morals and happiness of the people ; a duty I readily consented to discharge. At this meeting, some statements were made by the agent of the American Bible Society, to which this association of Athens was an auxiliary, that were as startling as those made by the Presbyterian clergyman in the morning, as to the number of sceptics and infidels joining in the ordinances of religion. The agent, Mr. Goulding, a native of Georgia, mentioned, that there had been no meeting of the Bible Society in this section of the State for the two years preceding this ; and that the whole sum raised in the entire State for the purpose of assisting the American Bible Society in their operations, the chief aim of

which was to place a copy of the Scriptures in every family not already provided with it, was only eleven dollars and twenty-seven cents!—such was the utter indifference of the people in the South to the spread of the gospel! He read some documents, by which it was shown that in many of the ninety-three counties of this State, more than one-half the families were without a copy of the Bible; and that, not from an inability to purchase it, but from indifference to its possession. I had always been so accustomed to regard America as so pre-eminently distinguished for its profession of religion, and veneration for the Scriptures, that I had not expected there would be found a single family in it, except the most destitute, without a copy of the Bible. But to show that the case of Georgia was not, after all, so incredible as I at first thought it, the agent presented me with several printed reports of the American Bible Society for perusal, in one of the most recent of which, I found this striking picture of the condition of the State of New York; one of the wealthiest, most populous, and most advanced in literature and general civilization, of the Union, called, indeed, the “Empire State,” from its admitted superiority in power and in influence over all the other; and whose chief city is the head-quarters of Bible and Missionary operations, both for this country and for foreign lands. Yet, this is the statement of the printed report of the American Bible Society, as to the condition of the Empire State, in respect to its possession of the Scriptures—

“In the western part of the State of New York, where a general supply of the Bible was effected four or five years since, there

have been found, in the present year, on careful investigation, facts like these. In one township in Orleans county, 35 families have been found destitute of a Bible, in another township 51, in another 85. In Erie county have been found, within the limits of six townships, 505 families without a Bible, and in eight townships in Chatauque county, 305 families in the same situation. In six townships in Saratoga county, there have been found as follows, 21, 27, 35, 38, 57, and 60 destitute families. Can there be a doubt, that if the same thorough inquiries were made, wants analogous to these would be found in all our Western States, and indeed in almost every part of the country?"

This question is abundantly answered by the inquiries made in Georgia, where, after a searching investigation of the principal counties, the number of families destitute of the Bible appears to be much greater, in proportion to the population, than in the State of New York.

After the statement of facts made by the chairman and the agent, and the addresses delivered by Mr. Smith and myself in support of the object of the meeting, which was to re-organize the auxiliary society, and to raise funds to carry forward its design of supplying every family in the State with the Scriptures, a collection was made; and many new names were entered as members, now uniting themselves for the first time to the Bible Society.

In a conversation with the agent, whom I had supposed to have come from the parent society of New York, I learnt that he was commissioned by authority from thence to act as agent for this State; but that he was a native of the South. He added, that all the religious societies of the North found it necessary to employ Southern men as their agents in the Southern States; for when a Northern man

came, there was always such dread of his bringing the "poison of Abolitionism" secretly under his cloak, that Southern people held aloof, and could not be brought into any cordial co-operation with him, however good the object he came to promote. So does this system of slavery engender jealousy, fear, and distrust, and fill the bosoms of its supporters with continual apprehension and alarm!

During this Sunday that we were engaged in "religious exercises," as the phrase here is, the slaves of the hotel were availing themselves of our absence, to commit the petty thefts to which they are nearly all so strongly addicted. A pocket-book, containing a few dollars only in bank-notes, was taken from my bed-room, and a valuable gold watch, which cost 300 dollars, was taken from the bed-room of a wealthy planter, staying at the hotel for his health. Strict search was made on the premises, and around it; and my pocket-book and papers (but without the bank-notes) were found buried in a part of the garden, to which the impression of a naked man's feet had been traced; the broken chain and seals of the watch were found also, buried not far from the same place: but the watch was not recovered. On inquiry, as to whether these thefts were frequent or not, the landlord admitted that they were very common, and were, as he believed, committed chiefly, if not entirely, by slaves coming to the hotel in attendance on their masters. Having little to do, they have abundant opportunity to survey the rooms at leisure; and when all the house-servants are engaged in attending on the inmates at their meals, they enter the bed-rooms, and pilfer

whatever they can find, secreting it till they take their departure, and then carrying off their spoils with them. For this there is no remedy, but that of keeping everything of value in your pockets, or safely locked up in the trunks ; and, then, never to leave the bed-room for ever so short a time without locking it, and taking away the key.

Considering the manner in which these slaves are brought up, without instruction of any kind, and the manner in which they are robbed of the just value of their labour by their masters, it is hardly to be wondered at that they should feel no compunction at robbing others whenever a safe opportunity presents itself, and thus avenging themselves on the white race for the wrongs they suffer at their hands. What enables them to carry on such practices almost with impunity, is the unwillingness of the parties robbed, and of the master of the house in which the robbery takes place, to make any rigid inquiries as to the perpetrator ; because the discovery of the thief will injure his master more than himself. If, for instance, the thief should be discovered, the master cannot turn him away, without losing the price he paid for him ; nor can he punish him with any severity, without exciting such feelings of hatred as may display themselves in the burning down his house, or otherwise destroying his property : and if he ever intends to sell the slave, the fact of his having been convicted and punished as a thief, would greatly lessen his value. For these reasons, therefore, such matters are usually hushed up ; and the successful robber seeing this, is encouraged, of course, to prosecute his career on all tempting occasions.

On the Monday after our arrival, we witnessed a grotesque exhibition of the militia muster, similar to that seen at Rochester in the summer of the last year. By the law of the State, every male citizen between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, not legally exempted, must be enrolled as a militia-man, and attend the stated musters throughout the year, under penalties for noncompliance. As this is felt here, as elsewhere, to be a duty as irksome as it is thought useless, and one from which the great majority of the community would gladly relieve themselves if they could, there seems an universal determination to bring these musters into contempt. Accordingly, while the commanding officer, under whose review they were to pass, was dressed in a field-officer's full uniform of blue and silver, and mounted on a fine charger richly caparisoned ; the battalion that marched before him was as grotesque as the most ingenious caricaturist could make it. About a dozen of the whole number had muskets, some with bayonets and some without ; and these were carried in as many different ways as there were pieces. The rest of the troop, about one hundred in number, carried sticks, umbrellas, waggoners' whips, and large planks or rails. Their dresses, too, were as varied as their arms ; some wore cloth coats, others white cotton jackets, and many were in their shirt sleeves ; while hats of all kinds, black, white, and straw, broad-brimmed and narrow, made up the motley dress of this strange company ; and in marching, the aim seemed to be to make the line as irregular as possible, and cause every man to step out of time. In short, they seemed to labour under



the influence of a *symmetrophobia*, and to do everything in the opposite way to that in which it should be done. The students of the university, about 120 in number, were also summoned to this muster ; and as they formed a corps by themselves, they endeavoured to outvie the militia-men of the town in the grotesqueness of their appearance, and the irregularity of their movements. The band of the townsmen were composed of two black drummers, two fifers, and a long drummer ; but that of the students was composed of three of their own number, playing on flutes, one of the D, or regular concert size, one of E flat, and one of B flat ; and as these all played the same strain in different keys, the discord may be well imagined.

On the following day, June 25, I received from the Phi-Kappa Society of the University of Athens, a communication stating that I had been unanimously elected an honorary member of that association, and soliciting my attendance at a meeting of its members, for the purpose of being initiated in due form. In compliance with this wish, I was escorted in the evening, by some members deputed to this duty, to the hall of the society, and there, with more formality of ceremony than I had at first expected, I was introduced to about forty of the students assembled in conclave, with a president, two vice-presidents, two censors, and other officers, seated in due form. After hearing the constitution and rules of the society read by the clerk, and an address made to me by the president, I was welcomed by the simultaneous rising and bowing of the whole assembly, as an initiated member. The compliment had to be

acknowledged, of course, by a speech in reply to the president's address ; and at the close of this, another simultaneous rising and salutation took place, when the meeting was closed.

There are two societies of this description attached to the University, the regular members of which are all students ; and the distinction of honorary membership is conferred on those strangers visiting Athens, whose name and reputation are calculated, in the opinion of its officers, to do honour to the institution. The oldest of these societies is the Demosthenian, which is coeval with the University, being about thirty-five years old. The youngest is the Phi-Kappa Society, which is about twenty years of age. The former numbers fifty-five members, and the latter forty-five.—The object of both is the same—to afford a field for exercise in debate on all topics except theological ; and, by a generous rivalry and emulation in intellectual displays of composition, declamation, and written and oral efforts, to develope and mature the respective powers of the members, so as to fit them for the active duties of life, and prepare them for the bar or the senate, to which the greater number of them aspire. On the Saturday of each week, the studies of the University are suspended, and this day is devoted by the two rival societies, to the prosecution of their respective labours, their recitations and debates often occupying the entire day. At the period of “Commencement,” as it is termed, which occurs in the first week in August of every year, when the degrees and prizes are awarded, after a public examination of the students, a day is set apart for the meeting of the rival

societies in conjunction, and an oration is delivered by some distinguished person specially invited and appointed for this purpose.

We remained at Athens a fortnight, during which I delivered two Courses of Lectures on Egypt and Palestine, in the Methodist church ; and they were more numerously attended, in proportion to the population, than in any of the Southern towns, not excepting even Charleston. I became acquainted during my stay with the president and all the professors of the University, and with very many intelligent and agreeable families, so that altogether our stay here was very pleasurable.

It was about forty years ago that this spot was set apart by the State for the foundation of a University, and a tract of land amounting to 50,000 acres was given as an endowment for the same. On this land the sum of 140,000 dollars was raised by way of loan or mortgage ; but as a portion of this was in bonds and notes not redeemed when due, the legislature took the whole amount, and gave for it, in money, 100,000 dollars, which, being placed at interest in the State Bank, yields an income of 8,000 dollars annually, as the present permanent revenue of the University. The governor of the State, Milledge, after whom the legislative capital of Georgia is called Milledgeville, made a personal grant, from his own private property, of sufficient land for the buildings and offices of the University, and the State made an advance of 10,000 dollars towards the building-fund. In this manner, the University was first founded. Its subsequent support has been maintained by the annual revenue of 8,000 dollars,

by the tuition-fees, and by occasional grants from the State for the library and other purposes.

Soon after the building of the first college, which is called Franklin College, and which was completed in 1801, families from various parts of the State began to settle here, for the advantage of educating their children; and a Female Academy was soon super-added to the college, for the education of the young men. This has gone on increasing every year, so that there are now at least one hundred good dwelling-houses, inhabited by families of easy competency, living on fixed incomes, and about an equal number of smaller dwellings, inhabited by persons in trade.

The appearance of the town is very pretty, especially at this, the summer season of the year. The mansions are almost all detached buildings, constructed of wood, with porticos, pediments, and piazzas, surrounded with spacious and well-planted gardens; and as all the houses are painted white, with green venetian blinds, they afford a striking relief to the deep-green foliage in which they are embosomed. There is but one regular street of business, in which the houses are continuous; and this is as yet built on one side only, the rest of the dwellings are scattered like separate villas, and the surface being greatly undulated, and the wood or forest-trees approaching close to their borders, the whole appearance of the village is picturesque and romantic.

The University Buildings form a quadrangle, covering about three acres of ground; and comprehending the rooms for the students, a large chapel, with Doric portico in good taste, the halls of the Demosthenian

and Phi-Kappa Societies, and the residences of the professors. The only other public buildings are three churches, all built of wood, and very plain, the largest of which is the Methodist, the next the Presbyterian, and the smallest the Baptist.

The population of Athens is estimated at about 2,500, of whom not more than half are white, including the students, the remainder being slaves engaged in domestic service. Of the white inhabitants, the greater number are families who have come here to reside from the low country, on account of the superior healthiness of this spot, or for the education of their children, or both. There are consequently more persons of education, taste, and good manners, than is generally found in so small a community; and this, with the presence of the professors and students, makes the society unusually good, which forms a powerful attraction, and brings people in from the plantations of the interior, to make this their permanent home. Such is the general competency and comfort of all classes, that every house seemed well furnished, and every family kept a carriage, while fine saddle-horses were also abundant.

The board of trustees of the University is formed of twenty-seven of the most eminent men in the State, including the governor, several of the judges, barristers, physicians, and private gentlemen of fortune. The faculty consists of a president, six professors, and two tutors, with a librarian and secretary. The students, at present 127 in number, are divided into the classes of seniors, juniors, sophomores, and freshmen.

The period for entering college in the freshman

class, must not be earlier than fourteen years of age; and the students often remain till they are past twenty-one. The whole expenses of a student for a year do not exceed 180 dollars; and the charge is thus apportioned—tuition in every branch, 50 dollars; board, 114 dollars; washing, 9 dollars; fuel, 7 dollars; so that 36*l.* sterling covers the entire cost of board, lodging, washing, attendance, and instruction! There is an annual public examination at “Commencement,” as it is called, which occurs on the first week in August, when degrees are conferred, and prizes awarded; and on this occasion, the families and friends of the students repair to Athens from all parts of the country, so that the town is literally full. This lasts for about a week, and is succeeded by a week’s vacation. The great vacation is, however, in the winter for ten weeks, from the 1st of November to the 16th of January, as this is the period of the year in which it is safest and best for such of the students as live in the low country, to visit their families and friends.

The salaries of the professors do not exceed 1,500 dollars, or 300*l.* sterling a year; but this may be deemed equivalent to 500*l.* a year in England, as to its sufficiency for maintaining themselves and families, according to the moderate scale of expenditure with the best classes here. In the museum of the College is a good collection of minerals, extending to upwards of 2,000 specimens; and belonging to the University is a large botanical garden, though in a different part of the town, in which are a great variety of beautiful and rare exotics, as well as a large collection of native plants.

There are two newspapers in Athens, each published weekly, the "Southern Banner," democratic, and the "Southern Whig," conservative. Both are Anti-abolition papers, but the "Banner" especially; indeed here, as elsewhere, the Democrats accuse the Whigs of being favourable to Abolition; and take especial merit to themselves, as the champions of liberty, though they are the exclusive advocates and defenders of the institution of domestic slavery! From such of the papers as I had an opportunity of seeing, they appeared to me to resemble those of Carolina in one of their best features, a freedom from personal vituperation, which is so characteristic of the North and the West; and a specimen of which I cut out from one of the latest Mississippi papers that came into my hands, the "Marshall Republican," published at Holly Springs, on the 1st of the present month, June, 1839. This is the paragraph:—

"**BASE VILLANY!**—We have just learnt that that dirty imp of iniquity and doer of Whig dirty-work, Latham, the degraded liar and contemptible blackguard of the *Memphis Enquirer*, has put in circulation, through his vile sink of falsehood and detraction, a report that this paper has ceased. We will thank our Democratic contemporaries to notice the fact of our being alive, and able to thrash any lying Whig scribbler who disputes our existence or our veracity."

The inhabitants of Athens seem very proud of the name of their village, and call themselves Athenians. There is also a village, called Rome, in the adjoining county, and the inhabitants of this are, of course, called Romans. In the state of Ohio, however, they are so extra-classical, that they have

three places called Rome, and three called Athons; and in one instance the township of Rome is in the county of Athens; while in other States there are no less than fourteen places bearing this classical name. This taste for Greek and Roman names extends to the steamboats navigating the inland waters, as well as to the towns and villages; as may be seen from the following paragraph taken from a newspaper of recent date :—

“ A recent New Orleans slip states, that the steamboat *Tarquin*, from *Rome*, lost a wheel-house by coming in contact with the *Tiber*, which was racing with the *Rocky Mountains* ! ”

This subject of American names, which has long engaged the attention of foreigners, is at length beginning to attract the notice of native writers also; and I do not think that their singularity could be made more apparent than it has been by one of the Northern papers, from whence the following is transcribed—

“ AMERICAN NAMES.—The editor of the ‘ Boston Mercantile Journal ’ has commenced a vigorous attack upon what he calls the bad taste of American people, in giving names to places. Among the most obnoxious which he has selected from ‘ Mitchell’s Map of the United States,’ he enumerates, among others, the following:—Bean Blossom, Bloody Run, Boggs, Bono, Bon Pas, Funkstown, Paint, Pumpkin Town, Scuffle Town, Trap, Whisky Run, Beepec Bobble, Oil, Olive Green, One Leg, Moon, Modestown, Metal, Mary Ann, Mary Ellen, Logtown, Long-a-Coming, Frogtown. •

“ Our neighbour of the ‘ New York Gazette,’ says he can find from memory fifty other names quite as pretty and poetical. By way of specimen he enumerates—Slingtail, Shirt-Tail Bend, Hog’s Calamity, Burst-up, Blatherskite, Tumbleburgh, Bumble Bee, Snakehampton, Blarneyville, &c.



"As the above lists are interesting, we must 'take the responsibility' of making a further addition of several poetic names. These names may not be found upon any map, but the places are, nevertheless, well known to the people inhabiting them and their neighbourhood. Without going beyond the limits of Dutchess County, we may enumerate Bang All, Hard Scrabble, North Star, Kidneykill, Eel Pot, Skunk's Misery, Tinkertown, Pond Gut, Nigger Squeeze, Ass's Bridge, Bull Hill, Mutton Hollow, Canoe Hill, Scabby Valley Square, Longtown, Nine Partners, Hell Hollow, Rum Tub, &c. In other parts of the State there are places called Poke Eye, Satan's Kingdom, Poke Weed, Break Neck Hill, Monkey Town, Sodom, Thieves' Refuge, Devil's Half-Acre, Cow Bay, Skunny Munk, Smoky Hollow, Sleepy Hollow, Anthony's Nose, Spite the Devil, &c.

"But these names, whatever we may think of their sound, were doubtless given by the original settlers, after the manner of the Hebrews of old, to signify the early events connected with their history. They are truly rural and American, therefore, and may be put down as exhibiting about as good taste as those *literary* places sprinkled everywhere, called Homer, Hector, Virgil, Pompey, Cicero, Cato, Scipio, Hannibal, Camillus, Romulus, Fabius, Sallust, Ovid, Seneca, Brutus, Babylon, Jerusalem, Nineveh, Jericho, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Russia, Poland, Italy, Venice, Persia, Chili, Peru, Jamaica, Rome, Moscow, Paris, Liverpool, Naples, Madrid, Lyons, Cairo, Batavia, &c. all of which, if we mistake not, may be found within the limits of the State of New York."—*Poughkeepsie Eagle*.

But these classical names are not confined to the State of New York ; on the contrary, they are as plentifully scattered over the Southern and Western States, as they are over the Northern and Eastern ; and the inconvenience of these endless repetitions and multiplications must soon become so great as to lead to the necessity of a revised nomenclature for the towns, when, if it be found impossible to furnish enough of original names in sufficient number and

variety to need no repetition, it will be found best, no doubt, to return to the Indian names of streams, mountains, woods, and plains, many of which are as beautiful, as they are appropriate.

The people of the Northern and Southern States differ very much from each other, in the slight tie which local attachment has on the former, and the strong hold which this passion has on the latter. I had been deeply impressed with this difference in all the Southern States I had yet visited ; and as we advance into the interior, we find this passion grow stronger and stronger still. This feeling is well embodied and expressed in the following recent effusion from the pen of Alexander B. Meek, Esq., of Tuscaloosa, in the adjoining State of Alabama—

- “ Land of the South!—imperial land!  
How proud thy mountains rise!  
How sweet thy scenes on every hand!  
How fair thy covering skies!  
But not for this,—oh, not for thee,  
I love thy fields to roam;  
Thou hast a dearer spell to me—  
Thou art my native home!
- “ Thy rivers roll their liquid wealth,  
Unequalled to the sea;  
Thy hills and valleys bloom with health,  
And green with verdure be!  
But not for thy proud ocean-streams,  
Nor for thine azure dome,  
Sweet sunny South, I cling to thee—  
Thou art my native home!
- “ I’ve stood beneath Italia’s clime,  
Beloved of tale and song,  
On Helvyn’s hills, proud and sublime,  
Where Nature’s wonders throng;

By Tempe's classic sun-lit streams,  
Where gods, of old, did roam ;—  
But ne'er have found so fair a land  
As thou—my native home !

“ And thou hast prouder glories too  
Than Nature ever gave :  
Peace sheds o'er thee her genial dew,  
And Freedom's pinions wave ;\*  
Fair Science flings her pearls around,  
Religion lifts her dome ;  
These, these endear thee to my heart—  
My own loved native home !

“ And ' heaven's best gift to man' is thine ;  
God bless thy rosy girls !†  
Like sylvan flowers, they sweetly shine ;  
Their hearts are pure as pearls !  
And grace and goodness circle them,  
Where'er their footsteps roam :  
How can I then, whilst loving them—  
Not love my native home !

“ Land of the South !—imperial land !  
Then here's a health to thee :—  
Long as thy mountain-barriers stand,  
Mayst thou be blessed and free !  
May dark dissention's banner ne'er  
Wave o'er thy fertile loam :  
But should it come, there's one will die,  
To save his native home !”‡

The literary taste of the South, whether evinced in its newspapers, magazines, or larger works, may

\* Over the whites only, of course.

† The girls of the South are universally pale.

‡ This means, “dissention” on the subject of “domestic institutions,” and a determination to die in defence of Slave-property, if attacked by the Abolitionists.

be called of the florid composite order, with a singular admixture of the most opposite principles; especially of the most unbridled democracy, and an earnest defence of the institution of slavery. One of the most amusing specimens of this taste that fell under my observation during our stay here, was the prospectus of a new weekly journal, to be called "The Pioneer," announced to be published in Augusta on the 1st of October in the present year. It was intended to be "devoted to the literature, institutions, and amusements of the South;" and to form another means of excluding the productions of the North, founded on the same principle of fear of Abolition, which has led to the multiplication of seminaries of education for Southern youth; the establishment of Southern Temperance journals for Southern readers, and the employment of Southern agents for Southern Bible Societies. Mr. Charles Wyatt Rice is named as the editor of this new literary journal; and the following extracts from its prospectus will exhibit the exuberant and high-flown style of Southern composition. The editor thus opens his address.

"The South is the natural home of literature. She has ever been so. Homer strolled and sung under the rays of the fervid sun; Italy and Greece have, from their first wakening into being as civilized nations, afforded their poets and orators. The literary pilgrim ever bends his step to the South of Europe, as his most favoured shrine; while there, fond memories throng to his mind, of the epic strains of Homer, the soothing measures of the Mantuan Swan, the exulting odes of Horace, and the biting sarcasms of Juvenal. While in later times he reclings to the memory of the tearful strains of Dante, the epic measures of the madman Tasso, the soft strains of Petrarch, and the pleasing

images of Boccacio. And while thus fondly recalling to memory all these, he remembers that they drew their inspiration from the fervid sun of Italy and Greece. He feels in the balmy air he breathes, in the brilliant heavens that form the canopy above him, in the brilliancy of the sunset that glows in the horizon, and in the tints that the air and clime spread over the earth, the inspiration that formed and developed the genius of those whom he now so fondly regrets.

“Such food for inspiration does the literary pilgrim find on the classic shores of Italy and Greece, and under the fervid sun of the South. And is it possible that a kindred clime in the Western Hemisphere presents no parallel to this? Do the same sun, the same brilliancy of the canopy of the clouds, the same glorious sunsets, the same rich tints upon the landscape, afford no inspiration here? A wilder, a more abrupt scenery than Italy or Greece can boast, speak in living tones to their beholders. While with these an Italian softness of landscape upon the Ashley, the Savannah, and other favourite streams, glorious waterfalls and streaming cascades, are everywhere claiming their worshippers in those who dwell among them.

“But, more than all these, do the leisure and opportunities for mental cultivation that her *domestic institutions* afford her citizens, present strong grounds of belief that the South is destined to become the centre of literary interest. As this leisure and this opportunity for mental cultivation *find no parallel in any other country*, it is natural to believe that the South is destined to become to the world, in a new era, what Greece was to the world in the old.”

This delicate phrase, “domestic institutions,” as has been before observed, is the one in common use all through the South, to designate slavery; and here, it is lauded as affording to the white race a “leisure and opportunity for mental cultivation, which finds no parallel in any other country.” But as this is not eulogy enough, the editor follows it up by a more open and undisguised defence of these

cherished "domestic institutions," and pledges himself to defend them against every attack, and to make this one chief feature of his paper. This is his language on this subject—

"We believe that the institutions of the South are founded in the *immutable laws* of the God of nature. We believe that on them will be built a fabric of glory and greatness to the South. We believe especially that they afford to the Southern States the means of outstripping the rest of the world in their literary career. And we know that these are times of peculiar danger to these institutions; we know that they are now attacked by the insidious foe, as well as by the open enemy. We shall, therefore, place our Journal as a sentinel on the watchtower of Southern institutions, ever watchful for attacks, and ever ready to repel them."

While on the subject of Southern literature, I cannot omit adverting to a most extraordinary production that I met with at Athens, published during the last year, 1838, by a citizen of Georgia, John J. Flourroy, from whom I received a long visit during my stay here. This writer advocates the singular notion, that the negro race are the accursed of God, and designated as the "great beast" in the Apocalypse of St. John, and that as such there is no hope for America while the black race remain in it. He is, therefore, an advocate of "colonization" in the broadest sense of the term, and will be content with nothing short of the complete expulsion of the whole race, and their settlement in their original country, Africa. He greatly blames the Catholics and Protestants for deeming each other respectively "the beast" spoken of in the Revelation; and calls on them to correct this error. But the whole work is so curious, that such portions of it as may be neces-

sary to give an idea of its style of thought and composition, should be placed before the reader in the author's own language, preserving the use of the italics and capitals of the original. Here is the opening of his work—

“ This volume was designed to do away certain misconceptions which exist between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Churches, regarding the Beast and Babylon of the Apocalypse. The two white Churches, through their authorities or Priests, have unhappily applied to each other, the persons and meaning of all these monsters. And growing fierce over the idea, that it is sinful and *unpardonable to love each other* !! the Catholics have almost always hated the Protestants, and have in turn received as free and hearty draughts of the like animosity from Protestant zealots!! Thus *Christians* have *abhorred*, where they had better have **LOVED EACH OTHER**; and from misunderstandings, I think, too obvious to a plain comprehension of the Bible, and certainly unwarranted by its spirit: nor is any cause seen of a nature sufficiently vast to authorize so much overt variance in Christianity, at least, to the view of the **CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHER**. And, I do not believe either church, the Beast ‘issuing from the bottomless pit,’ and ‘going into perdition;’ nor that to love either sanctuary with pure devotion as houses of Christ, will affix on any forehead the ‘mark of the beast,’ and render any person liable to perdition. My reasons for thus believing, I shall proceed now to state at length.”

An examination is then made of the Apocalypse of St. John, commencing with the passage, “A star fell from heaven, and to him was given the key of the bottomless pit;” and from these it is deduced that Ham, the father of the African race, was the “beast of great authority, with seven heads and ten horns.” After this the author thus proceeds—

“Greater authority is given us from the Bible to suppose Ham and his progeny the evil monsters, than to suppose the not cursed

Catholic children of Japhet, the same. And why? Because it is impossible that Christ would designate Japhet's posterity, who have benefited the world so much, and who are the only men (white men) alive, who carry the Gospel abroad to the most distant regions (the Apostles, and the Saviour himself were white,) as the vilest of creatures next to Satan; and have overslipped entirely the children of Ham, who are, and have been from the days of Noah, *corrupt and corrupting, and Africa always a land of savage murderers, and abominable whoremongers, difficult to reclaim, and obstinately anti-christian*; though to them the Gospel was preached in Apostolic times, simultaneously with Europe; and which black race refused, or neglected to profit by the good seed there sown; while the Europeans took and profited most happily by the heavenly sowing."

An elaborate examination of Jacob Bryant's Mythology of the Ancients, and of Faber's Work on the Prophecies, follows this, and leads to a Dissertation on the varied colours of the human race—the white, the red, and the black, with the different hues produced by their amalgamation. The prophet Isaiah is then referred to, for another proof that the negroes are considered in holy writ as the enemies of the church; and the use made of the authority of this prophet shows to what an extent the perversion of Scripture may be carried. Here is the passage—

"Before I close the prophecy of Isaiah, to go to two succeeding other holy men, I beg leave to exhibit a single verse, which seems to point to the race of Ham with an unmoving finger, in the 33d chapter, where the enemies of the church are denounced—verse 19th: "And thou shalt see a fierce people; of a deeper speech than thou canst perceive. and of a *stammering tongue* that thou canst not understand." This, I am sure, has more application to Egyptians, in the first instance, whose 'deeper speech,' or uncouth *hieroglyphics*, are deeper than we can perceive, because they need Egyptian interpreters—though in the sequel they are nothing but the trash of learning, or 'two grains of wheat in a bushel of chaff,'



not worth the finding out. In the second instance, it has a remarkable application to our negroes, who always speak English badly, and stammer; and do so, no doubt, in all other tongues, when among other nations, as well as in their own African tongue—they stammer everywhere, at home and abroad—the application to them is too apparent for mistake—for all other nations having the same opportunity and the like means of long residence among us, in our houses as servants, would have mastered our tongue in a single generation; but the negroes never one in five.”

In conclusion he contends that even where Papal tyranny and corruption seem to warrant the Protestant notion of Rome being “the great beast” of the Apocalypse, it was owing to indirect influence, flowing from *African* sources that these evils were engendered; for he says—

“That the Babylon of the Revelation, sitting on a scarlet-coloured beast, was only the influences of the Negro race, supported by the Dragon and Devil, in all those refinements of fashion, money, harlots, wine, kings, and idols, which are abominations growing out of the systems of Government and Paganism introduced by Ham. And this Babylon does not mean Rome. For the utmost violence of the Romish Inquisition, or Church Tyranny, was felt in Spain, and advised by the Spanish Cardinals, and the Cardinals from and contiguous to, Africa. And it was from Spain, by a Spanish husband of Mary’s of England, Philip, that the Inquisition was introduced into England, at which Archbishop Cranmer, and other eminent and most pious men, were executed. And now an examination into the Spanish pedigree, or the ancestors of Spain, will show that much Moorish and African blood yet remains in the people, and the great majority of them are part negro—Philip himself had a woolly head, though brown skin.”

What, however, will astonish Christian readers more than any of the preceding passages, startling as they are, is the use made by this Southern writer, of the authority of Christ himself for the denuncia-

tion of the negro race ! This is the passage in which the author makes this extravagant assertion—

“ That the Saviour himself showed something, plain enough, of the above truth, or at least a very strong suspicion that way—by alluding to dogs, as not fit to throw our bread unto ; and when a woman of Canaan, a Syro-Phœnician, asked him to heal her daughter, he hesitated to notice her, and at last said, though he afterwards granted her request, ‘ It is not meet to cast the children’s bread to dogs ;’ thus designating her black race as *dogs*, to whom we must not cast bread ; or in other words, must scrupulously avoid ; and when the Apocalypse says ‘ Dogs’ are without with ‘ whoremongers’ in the lake of fire—and not admitted into the New Jerusalem—we have the finale of the picture, in mighty corroboration of my opinions of the Real Babylon.”

The newspapers of Athens contain their full share of notices of runaway slaves, who appear to be just as anxious to escape from the power of the whites, as this “ Expulsionist” is to rid his country of the blacks. Among the signs or tokens by which these slaves are to be recognized or known, one of the notices states, of a negro supposed to have gone off after his wife, who was living in another part of the country—“ He is much marked with the whip.”

In no place during our stay in the United States, did we hear so much of the immorality and depravity of the slave population as here. According to the testimony of all parties, the negroes were so addicted to lying and stealing, that they were not to be trusted out of sight or hearing ; and instances were related to us, in which poisonings and secret murders had been committed by them on their own relatives, to prevent disclosures. Some had revenged themselves for offences committed by brothers and sisters, by stealing articles, and placing them secretly in the pockets

of those they wished to injure, then accusing them, and becoming witnesses to convict them of the crime, for which they suffered stripes, imprisonment, and death; the accusers often subsequently confessing their wickedness, and boasting in the success of their plots. In short, it would seem impossible, according to the account of those who are surrounded by it, that any state of society can be more depraved than this. And yet, the Christian churches here, with one accord, maintain a general silence on the subject of slavery, unless provoked by some peculiar circumstances to make a public declaration on the subject; and then, it is in palliation of this "domestic institution," as it is called, and in denunciation of Abolitionism. The following is taken from the "Southern Christian Advocate," the Methodist Journal of the South, and needs no comment—

"The Georgia Conference, a year ago, declared that slavery, as it exists in the Southern States, is not a moral evil; and the South Carolina Conference, at its session shortly afterwards, had the following proceedings on the subject.

"*Resolved* 1st. That it is the sense of this Conference, that slavery, as it exists in these United States, is not a moral evil.

"*Resolved* 2nd. That we view slavery as a civil and domestic institution, with which, as ministers of Jesus Christ, we have nothing to do, further than to ameliorate the condition of the slave, by endeavouring to bring both him and his master under the benign influence of Christianity."

During our stay at Athens, I attended, on Thursday, the 27th of June, a debating club, formed of the resident gentlemen of the town, not connected with the University. It was held in a spacious room over the Post-office, which served also for the reading-room of the club, and was amply supplied with newspapers

from all parts of the Union. The meeting commenced at three o'clock, and continued till seven. The members in attendance were few, but they were all above forty years of age, and nearly all had titles, as general, colonel, major, &c. The appearance of the room when we entered it, was more like some of the scenes described by Mrs. Trolloppe in the West, than I had ever before seen. The floor was of newly-planed pine-wood, without mat or carpet, and it was covered with saliva and tobacco juice, from the chewers of the club, for whom no spitting-boxes appeared to have been provided, and, therefore, every minute at least, some member was seen and heard to project his contribution to the floor, which was spotted over like the leopard's skin.

The chair was taken by the President, a general, and the Secretary called the meeting to order, but this did not produce the least alteration in the aspect of the meeting. The few members who were scattered about the room, sat each after his own fashion. One gentleman placed his legs on the table, and exhibited the soles of his boots to the President. Another hung back in his chair, while it stood on its two hind legs only, with his feet placed on the upper front bar of the chair, in which attitude he rocked himself to and fro like a nurse hushing a baby to sleep, and everything was marked by the greatest indifference to decorum.

The question for debate was "Ought the State to have the right to educate the children of its citizens?" The first speaker was, by the rules of the club, the gentleman who placed the question on the books for discussion. He spoke for about an

hour, in support of the affirmative of this question ; and argued the case closely and well ; but being a more than usually copious chewer of tobacco, he spit on the floor at the end of almost every sentence, rolling his quid from side to side in his mouth during the interval. Once, during his speech, he asked for a tumbler of water, which one of the members brought him from a wooden bucket, placed in the centre of the room, with a wooden ladle to drink and fill the glass with ; and he then threw away his quid, stopped to rince out his mouth four or five times with the water, which he projected out of the window, near which he was speaking ; he then took a fresh quid from a large black square mass of compactly pressed tobacco, which he carried in his waistcoat pocket, and resumed his discourse, spitting on the floor until a large pool had been formed before him ; and at the close of his address, the rincing of the mouth, and the renewal of the quid, was repeated.

This gentleman, who we understood was a man of fortune and leisure, not engaged in any business or profession, was followed by three speakers in succession, who maintained the negative of the question ; and, very much to my surprise, nearly the same arguments that are used against the adoption of any measures by the State for the promotion of general education in England, were repeated here. Each of these gentlemen spoke about half an hour, and delivered their sentiments with great force and in accurate language. They all copiously loaded the floor with tobacco-juice, so that the odour began to be extremely disagreeable, especially as the afternoon

was warm; the thermometer being at 90° in the shade. The fifth speaker at length took up the affirmative of the proposition, as to the right and duty of the State to educate the children of its citizens, or, in other words, to provide funds, and establish a system of National Education, by which the children of all those who were either unable or unwilling to confer on them the advantage of primary instruction, at the expense of the State.

At the close of this speech, the hour for adjournment drawing near, the chairman expressed a desire to hear my sentiments on this subject. To this I at first demurred, expressing my reluctance to offer opinions on a question which some might think not properly within my sphere of action, as a foreigner; and I was therefore desirous of leaving it in the hands of the native citizens, who were, no doubt, the best judges of what system would be most acceptable to themselves. But this objection being overruled, and a general expression being uttered of a wish to hear my sentiments on the question, I at length complied, and spoke for about half an hour, maintaining the affirmative of the subject, replying to the objections urged by the three opposing speakers; and citing the successful example of the Prussian system, as the most perfect, and that of New England as the next best and nearest example, both of the wisdom, justice, policy, and practicability of the State educating the children of its citizens. After this, the chairman summed up the arguments on each side; and gave his decision in favour of the affirmative view of the question, and thus terminated the debate.

On the evening of the same day, we attended a very brilliant party, given by Dr. Church, the president of the University, to the professors and senior students of the two first classes, who had passed their examinations during the week, and to all the principal families of Athens and its neighbourhood, who were invited to meet them. The party was very elegant, and highly intellectual. There were about 200 persons present, who remained together from eight o'clock till midnight. I do not remember ever to have seen a greater number of beautiful countenances than among the young ladies of this party; their ages ranging between fifteen and twenty. The style of beauty was like that of Charleston, Savannah, and New Orleans: small delicate figures, fair complexions, but not so deadly pallid as at the North; great symmetry of features, brilliant black eyes, finely arched eyebrows, and full dark hair. The style of dress was not so stiff and formal as at the North, and more quiet, or less showy: white muslin being almost the only material of their robes, and pearls and white ribbons, with here and there a few delicate flowers, being the only ornaments seen. A young bride of fifteen, with her husband, were of the party, though their marriage had only taken place three days before; and many were surprised when I stated that English brides rarely mingled with large parties till a few weeks after their nuptials. The ladies, though so young, appeared to have more resources for conversation, and more power, as well as ease or freedom of expression, than ladies of the same rank or class in the North. Their manners too were more frank, cordial, and warm, which contrasted

agreeably with the seeming caution and frigidity of the Northern ladies. A group of sisters sang and played more agreeably and with more accuracy than is generally witnessed in American parties; the taste for music being far from general, and skill in vocal execution very rare, in this country. Indeed, the peculiarly thin and wiry voices, and universally nasal and drawling tones of the American ladies, must make it very difficult for them ever to execute vocal music with that power and expression, which a rich and melodious voice can give even to the simplest air warbled from an Italian throat.

The gentlemen seldom acquire sufficient skill on any instrument to play well, so that there are no instrumental accompaniments; and in not more than two or three parties have we ever heard male and female voices blended together in singing. In general appearance and manners, the gentlemen of this party were superior to those usually seen in such assemblages at the North, and their conversation was quite as remarkable for its intelligence. I doubt whether any town in England or France, containing a population of little more than a thousand persons—for that is the extent of the white inhabitants here—could furnish a party of two hundred, among whom should be seen so much feminine beauty, so much general intelligence, or so much ease, frankness, and even elegance of manners. If the Athens of Georgia shall continue to retain these features of superiority as it increases in size and population, it can hardly fail to exercise an Attic influence on the surrounding country, which in time may rival that of the Athe-



nians of Greece over the people of the Peloponnesus. But as the Athens of Georgia is hardly more than thirty years old, and is still a mere village rising in the woods, with primeval forests pressing close around its borders, it will require some years at least to develope, mature, and consolidate the elements of social and intellectual superiority, which are now but just budding forth.

The climate of Athens is peculiarly healthy; and in the spring and autumn of the year, is as agreeable as it is salubrious; the atmosphere being dry, and the thermometer ranging between 40 and 80 degrees. But in the summer it sometimes rises to 100 degrees, and is often at 95 degrees; while in winter it goes below zero; and in the winter before last was at 10 degrees below that point. The inconvenience of sudden changes in the same day is also often felt here; and 40 degrees difference in the range of the thermometer in the twenty-four hours has often been experienced. Still, pulmonary complaints are not nearly so frequent as in the North; and the yellow fever, which has already appeared at New Orleans and Charleston, is unknown here, nor in the hottest season of the year do the residents think it necessary to remove for their health.

In the Botanical Garden belonging to the University, the tropical plants are obliged to be carefully covered up all the winter; by this means, and the use of the greenhouse, they are enabled to rear a number of beautiful exotics. Among them are several of the night-blooming *Cereus*, one of which opened its flower during our stay here; and being

on a fine moonlight night, my family and a large party went to see its opening, as it flowers but once, and all its beauty vanishes before sunrise.

The Mineralogical collection at the Museum of the University contains some very interesting specimens of native minerals, though it is only six years since the collection was begun. In addition to the minerals are some Indian antiquities, dug chiefly out of mounds, many of which are curious, and strikingly resemble the Mexican antiquities collected by Mr. Bullock, of England, as well as those in the Museum of the Philosophical Society in Philadelphia.

In possession of one of the professors, but not belonging to this collection, we were shown a slab of stone, which contained the distinct impress of a human foot, a little larger than the ordinary size, and with the toes spread wide apart, as if the individual had never worn either sandals or shoes. This, we were told, was brought from a remarkable hill, about ninety miles distant from this, in a northerly direction inclining to west, called the "The Enchanted Mountain." It is about five hundred feet in elevation, steep of ascent, and well wooded, for three-fourths of its height, but the upper part is bare rock. On the topmost surface of this, is a long line of foot-steps impressed in the stone, to the depth of half an inch; the impressions being of the right and left foot alternately, and at just the natural distance measured in a walking pace. Besides the impressions of the feet of adults, there are those of children made in the same manner, and also of unshod horses; there being in one case a slide of a horse's foot, as if slipping along on a greasy substance. This track—

or "trail," as it is called, when applied to the marks left by Indians, who go through the woods and over the prairies in single file—is thought by some to be the impression of real feet made on this substance, (which resembles soap-stone) when it was in a soft or clayey state, and that it has since become hardened. It is thought also that these marks were not made in passing over the summit of a hill, but while what is now its summit was the surface of a plain, a portion of which has been gradually elevated into the mountain it now forms, by some expanding or up-heaving force of confined gas from below, according to the theory of Professor Lyall, who adduces many such instances, in his excellent Work on Geology. Others, unable to believe this, suppose these impressions of feet to have been made by some of the Indians on the summit of the hill, to support some traditionary or superstitious belief or usage, connected with the Enchanted Mountain; but, besides the difficulty of conceiving such a labour to be executed by the Indians, I may state, that as far as a very close inspection of the stone would allow me to judge, there was not the least trace of the marks of a chisel, or any other instrument, on the surface of the stone. On the contrary, it bore all the appearance of a plastic substance, impressed with human feet not more than one-eighth above the present natural size, and differing only from the impressions of modern feet, by the toes being more widely spread, as if never confined by shoes or sandals. Not far from this, there had recently been dug up the bones of some huge animal, much larger than those of any mastodon or mammoth hitherto discovered.

## CHAP. V.

History and condition of the Cherokee Indians—Territory assigned to the Indians west of the Mississippi—Opposite opinions as to the policy of uniting the Indians—Numbers, character, and condition of the Choctaws—Numbers of the Creeks, their territory and government—Smaller tribes—Indigenous races of Western Indians—The Pawnees, their present uncivilized state—Kickapoos—Indian prophet—Provisions for educating the Indians—Missions established among the tribes—Whole number of Indians on the North American continent—Human sacrifice of a Sioux girl taken in war.

HAVING become acquainted with a legal gentleman at Athens, who had been formerly attorney and counsel for the Cherokee Indians, the tribe that was removed, during the last year only, from the territory which they occupied in this State, to their new region west of the Mississippi, I had an opportunity of learning, partly from himself, and partly from documentary and other accurate sources, many interesting particulars respecting this tribe. Nearly the whole of the north-western section of this State was, until very recently, in the occupation of the Cherokees, who numbered about 16,000 persons, and were much more advanced in civilization than any other of the aborigines of this continent. They had well-cultivated farms, pleasant villages, and some of their more opulent chiefs lived in well-built houses, excellently furnished with tables, sofas, carpets, mirrors, beds,

and table-services of china, glass, and plate. Both males and females adopted the European dress; the latter were well instructed, and some of them had pianofortes, on which they were able to play. One of their tribe, an Indian, named George Guess, invented a syllabic alphabet—though he knew no other language than Cherokee—containing fifty-two characters: the Mohawk or Iroquois had only fifteen. Such was its success, that young Cherokees learnt by it to write letters to their friends in the short space of three days, and a newspaper was published in this character in 1826, called the “Cherokee Phoenix,” half in English and half in Cherokee, each part being a translation of the other. Their principal chief, John Ross, though a perfect Indian in complexion and physiognomy, (whom I had seen at Washington,) dressed well in the European mode, and wrote accurately-expressed letters, of which I saw several, both in the original and in copies. After many difficulties and great reluctance on their part, the general government of the United States succeeded in obtaining their unwilling assent to a treaty for their removal to other lands beyond the Mississippi. But so unpopular was this treaty with the bulk of the tribe, the chiefs alone being the negotiating parties, that previous to 1837, not more than 6,000 had removed, and the larger portion of 16,000 for a long time persisted in their determination not to do so. At length, however, the pressure on them by the general government, who appointed one of its most distinguished generals, with an adequate force, to execute the treaty, and compel their removal, if they still hesitated was such as they could no

longer resist, and accordingly the whole number, during the summer of the last year, left this country, and went to join their red brethren in the West.

The territory set apart for the whole of the Indian tribes thus transplanted from the east to the west of the Mississippi, is greater in area than all England and Scotland combined, being about 600 miles in length by 200 in breadth, and containing 80,000,000 of acres of land. The number of Indians among whom this territory is divided, do not exceed 95,000 persons in twenty-two tribes; about 20,000 being natives of the western lands, and 75,000 transferred from the eastern side of the Mississippi. The whole of the tract is said to be well watered, sufficiently wooded, healthy, and extremely fertile—equally well adapted to agriculture and pasture, and possessing iron and lead ore, and salt-springs, with a considerable extent of prairie land, especially on its western border.

Some well-informed persons entertain a belief that these tribes, thus placed in juxtaposition and communication with each other, will form a Federal Union, and become exceedingly formidable, especially as the Choctaws, the Chickasaws, and the Cherokees, have each a knowledge of reading and writing, and have written laws for their own government, and regular forms of legislation. These Indians are therefore desirous of having some code of international law for their adoption and use, to be passed by the United States' government, and made binding on them by their ratification of it. Others, however, conceive that anything which can tend to

cement their union, will make them too formidable for the white settlers near their territory ; and therefore think it is best to let them continue a divided people ; so that, by wars and dissensions among themselves, they may be weakened, and ultimately destroyed. According to the most recent and accurate accounts, the following is the condition of the principal tribes in that territory.

The Choctaws, who exceed 15,000, have a tract near the Red River, and on the borders of Texas, about 200 miles long and 150 miles broad. They have nearly 200 white men married to Indian females, living among them as part of their tribe, and about 600 negro slaves. They have houses and cattle, waggons and ploughs, and cultivate corn and cotton, having raised 600 bales of the latter from their fields in the last year. They have also 1,000 spinning-wheels, 1,000 cards, and 400 looms, supplied them by the United States' government—besides mills for grinding flour and sawing timber, all worked by water-power. There are eight native merchants among them, who imported in the past year about 80,000 dollars' worth of goods.

For their government, they have adopted a written constitution, upon republican principles, with slight exceptions. It provides for a general council, or legislative body, to consist of the three principal chiefs, and thirty counsellors chosen annually by the people ; that is, ten in each district. The legislative council meets once a year. It is supplied with a speaker and clerk. Two of their chiefs have the veto prerogative, but when an act is passed by two-

thirds of the legislative council, it becomes a law. Eighteen *light horsemen* are kept always ready to enforce the laws of the nation.

They have enacted some wholesome laws relative to the crimes of murder, theft, lost property, fences, widows and orphans, witchcraft, &c. Legal counsel and trial by jury are allowed to all. Severe enactments have been made against the introduction of ardent spirits; and these are enforced with becoming zeal, so that the evil of intemperance, which is so fearfully destructive to Indians generally, is now little known in the Choctaw country.

The English mode of dress has been adopted to a considerable extent, especially among the females, and is daily becoming more common. Many of the Choctaws may properly be classed with civilized men, while a large portion of the residue are little inferior to them in point of improvement.

They have nine schools supported by the United States' government, the teachers receiving 500 dollars each annually; and in these, 210 youths of the Indians are educated, besides 67 at the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky. There is a Presbyterian, a Methodist, and a Baptist Mission among them, with Churches and Sunday Schools belonging to it, and supported by each; the tuition to the natives being in all cases gratuitous.

The Cherokees, who exceed 20,000 in all, have a tract of still greater extent than the Choctaws, between the rivers Arkansas and Missouri, embracing about 2,500,000 acres. They are chiefly agriculturists, but have several lead mines and salt works, 8,000 horses, 20,000 horned cattle, 25,000 hogs,



200 waggons, several ploughs to every farm, many hundred spinning wheels, and 200 looms, besides saw and grist mills in abundance.

Their form of civil government resembles that of one of the American States, with an upper and lower House of Representatives, each having a President and Secretary, meeting yearly in autumn, but convened specially at other times by the principal chiefs, of whom there are three. Each district has two judges, and two sheriffs (who are called "light-horse-men," because their long journeys require them to be well mounted,) to see the laws executed. They have several merchants of their own tribe, with capitals of from 5,000 to 15,000 dollars each, and a native physician who received a medical education in the United States. They have also a Presbyterian, a Methodist, and a Baptist Mission, with Churches and Sunday Schools belonging to each.

The Creeks, who are about 20,000 in number, have a large tract which adjoins that of the Choctaws on the south, the Cherokees on the north and east, and the great prairies on the west. There is no wooded country, it is said, between them and the Rocky Mountains, a distance of nearly 500 miles; the whole of that space being occupied by level prairies of good soil, but without forests, and generally uninhabited by any Indian tribes, from the want of wood and water. The Creeks are almost wholly agriculturists, and have their fields enclosed with rail-fences. They cultivate corn so extensively, that they have sometimes had 50,000 or 60,000 bushels above their own consumption, for sale and exportation. They spin, weave, sew, knit, and fol-

low other pursuits of industry ; have permanent dwellings, mills, and looms. They are governed by written laws, resembling in spirit those of the United States, enacted by a council of the nation, convened as often as circumstances may require, and sheriffs or light-horsemen to execute their decisions, and that of the judges. They have also three missions residing among them, with Churches and Sunday Schools.

These are the three principal tribes. The others who have gone from this side of the Mississippi have neither of them more than 1,000 persons each ; the Delawares and Shawanees having about this number ; and the others, including the Senecas, Kickapoos, and Pottawotomies, with some smaller tribes, numbering only from 200 to 500 each. All these are less civilized, and some of them are wretched as well as barbarous, from poverty and want.

Of the indigenous tribes within this Indian territory, the Pawnees are the most numerous, having upwards of 10,000 men. In their habits and condition they are farther removed from those of civilized man, than any tribe which we have noticed. In some instances, they continue to cultivate the earth with the shoulder-bone of the buffalo. This being tied to a stick for a handle, serves the purpose of a spade or shovel. All live in villages, where their huts are crowded closely, without order in their arrangement. Besides their houses of bark, and of flags, they have a few of earth. These are circular and in form of a cone, the wall of which is about two feet in thickness, and is sustained by wooden pillars within. Like their other huts, they have no floor except the earth. The fire is in the centre, and the

smoke escapes directly above. The door is low and narrow, so that in entering, a person must half crawl. The door, as in their other huts, is closed by a skin of some animal suspended therein.

The Kickapoos are one of the smallest of the tribes, but they are remarkable for having a native prophet, called Kenekuk, among them, who has established a religion of his own ; and of which the following are the chief features.

He professes to receive all that he teaches, immediately from the Great Spirit, by a supernatural agency. He teaches abstinence from the use of ardent spirits, the observation of the Sabbath, and some other good things. He appears to have little knowledge of the doctrines of Christianity, only as his dogmas happen to agree with them. By some, however, it is thought that he and his party are improving in Christian knowledge and morals.

Besides the speeches of the prophet, their religious exercises consist of a kind of prayer, expressed in broken sentences, often repeated, in a monotonous sing-song tone, equalling about two measures of a common psalm-tune. All the people engage in this ; and in order to preserve unison in the words, each holds in his or her hand, a small board, about an inch and a half broad, and eight or ten inches long, upon which is engraved arbitrary characters, which they follow up with the finger, until the last character admonishes them that they have completed the prayer.

These characters are five in number : the first represents the heart ; the second, the heart and flesh ; the third, the life ; the fourth, their names ;

the fifth, their kindred. During the service, these characters are gone over several times : the first time the person supposes himself to be on earth ; next, to be approaching the door of the house of God, in heaven ; then at the door, and so onward to heaven.

Certain men are appointed to use the rod on occasions of worship, for the purpose of maintaining order. The rod, also, is applied by these men as a kind of church-discipline in cases of transgression. The offender, whose crime may be known only to himself, applies to one of the four or five persons who are authorized to use the rod, and states that he has committed an offence, for which he desires the whipper to inflict a given number of stripes upon his bare back. Having received the flagellation, which frequently brings blood, the penitent immediately shakes hands with the executioner and others near, returning thanks for the favour conferred upon him, and declaring that he feels himself relieved from a heavy burden. The prophet indulges in the privilege of a plurality of wives.

The provision made by the United States' government for the education of children in the Indian tribes removed beyond the Mississippi, is not inconsiderable. There is first an annual money-grant of 10,000 dollars from the Congress. Added to this, there have been various annuities in money and grants in land to the several tribes, in aid of this object ; for instance—to the Kauzaus, 23,040 acres of good land for education, and 600 dollars per annum to aid them in agriculture ; to the Osages, 34,560 acres of land for the support of schools, and 1,200 dollars a year for agriculture ; to the Dela-

wares, 23,040 acres of land for education; to the Pottowatomies, 70,000 dollars for the purposes of education and the domestic arts; 150,000 dollars for mills, farm-houses, and agricultural improvements; to the Kickapoos, 500 dollars a year for ten successive years, for the support of a school and books; and 4,000 dollars for fencing, ploughing, and agriculture: to the Pawnees, 2,000 dollars a year for ten years for agricultural implements, and 1,000 dollars for oxen and live-stock; 2,000 dollars per annum for ten years for smitheries and blacksmiths, and 1,000 dollars a year for ten years for schools. These are the grants and allowances to the smaller tribes. To the larger it will be seen to be proportionate.

To the Cherokees, 2,000 dollars annually for ten years, for the education of their children in their own country, in letters and the mechanical arts, and 1,000 dollars for the purchase of a printing-press and types. By the treaty of 1835, which stipulated for the removal of the whole tribe, a small portion only having gone beyond the Mississippi before this, the large sum of 150,000 dollars, in addition to 50,000 dollars granted before, making 200,000 dollars in all, is appropriated to the support of common schools, and such a literary institution of a higher order, as may be established in the Indian country, the interest of this permanent fund to be expended by direction of the Cherokee council, under the supervision of the President of the United States. The Creeks have a yearly annuity of 4,000 dollars for schools, and the Choctaws have a provision of 25,000 dollars permanent fund, an annuity of 2,500 dollars for twenty years, and the education of twenty

youths of the nation, free of cost, in the Choctaw Academy, in Kentucky.

In addition to the means thus provided for the education and general improvement of the Indian tribes removed from their lands on this side of the Mississippi, the American Board of Society for Foreign Missions has sent among them a number of pious and devoted men as ministers of the gospel, and these are generally accompanied by their wives, who assist in the business of religious education. These are all supported by the Missionary Societies by whom they are ordained ; and on very small salaries, just barely sufficient to give them subsistence. The amount allowed, varies according to the expensiveness of living at each station, and is fixed by the Missionary Societies, so as barely to cover the necessary current expenditures of the several Missions. None of them, therefore, receive any compensation which they can lay up as their own personal property. By this means, the voluntary surrender of the Missionary to labours of benevolence for the benefit of the Indians, places him beyond the influence of temptation to acquire property. He does not receive even a promise of support for his family, should they outlive him ; but he trusts all to Providence. By the United States' government, Missionaries are recognized as being in its service, and, like agents, subagents, and others authorized to reside in the Indian country, they enjoy its protection. Should a Missionary be convicted of a violation of the laws regulating intercourse with the Indian tribes, the government would expel him ; but this circumstance would not prevent the occupying of the station by an approved Missionary as his successor.

There has been, however, either a falling off in zeal, or a deficiency in means among the Christian community, who have these Missions in charge; for according to an official statement laid before the Board in the last year, it appears that while for two years past, the only addition made to the Missionaries for the three denominations of Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist, had been two males and eleven females, the increase of the Indian population within the territory had been 19,730—the Indians, therefore, increasing at the rate of 43 per cent on their previous numbers, and the Missionaries less than 1 per cent on theirs.

The several tribes have each an agent appointed by the United States' government to reside among or near them, and to be the channel of their communication with the government on all matters of business: the salary of such agents, who are usually officers of the army or militia, is about 1,500 dollars a year; and the superintendence of the whole is confided to a Chief Commissioner and Board for Indian Affairs, the former appointed by the President, and the latter composed of the members of the Congress at Washington.

The whole number of the Indians of all kinds is estimated to be as follows:—

1. Tribes removed West of the Mississippi . .	68,669
2. Tribes originally dwelling there . . . .	101,000
3. Indians living East of the Rocky Mountains	20,000
4. Tribes West of the Rocky Mountains . .	80,000
5. Tribes within British and Russian Territories	1,520,431
6. Indians of various tribes in Texas and Mexico	3,600,000

Total . . . . 5,390,100

The two largest of the tribes west of the Mississippi are the Sioux, who number 27,500, and the Black-feet, who number 30,000. The rest of the tribes vary from 1,500 to 8,000; there being one only, the Sauks of Missouri, which has so small a number as 500. To show, however, the degree of barbarism and cruelty which still reigns among those indigenous tribes of the Far West, and how very far behind the Choctaws, Creeks, and Cherokees they must still be deemed, I transcribe a communication made from an American gentleman, who was at the fort called Council Bluffs, in October last, and who gives this account of a human sacrifice made in the person of a little Sioux girl, taken prisoner by the Pawnees. The writer says—

“The Sioux and Pawnees, only 160 miles from here, are in constant hostility. This war has continued for about 200 years. So the Indians here (the Pottawatamies) say. The Pawnees in a war expedition into the Sioux country last February, took prisoner a Sioux girl only fourteen years old, whom they kept about two months, until corn-planting, and fattened her as they would a hog. They then determined to make a sacrifice of her. This they kept to themselves. Two days before the sacrifice, a council of eighty of the warriors and head-men of the nation, met to see whether they would accept the offers of two traders of the American fur-company, who offered them valuable presents if they would release her to them, so that they might let her return home. But all would not do. A majority of the council was for a sacrifice, and of course those in favour of her release could do nothing.

“At the breaking up of the council, the prisoner was brought out, and, accompanied by the whole council, was led from house to house, when they gave her a small billet of wood and a little paint, which she handed to the warrior next her, and he passed it on to the next, until every wigwam had contributed some wood and paint. On the 22d of April she was led out to be sacrificed,



but not until she came upon the ground did she conjecture her fate. They had chosen the place between two trees which grew within five feet of each other. They then made her ascend the three bars tied across from tree to tree, her feet resting on the bars below, where a slow fire kindled beneath would just reach her feet. Two warriors then mounted the bars, and there, standing one on each side of her, held fire under her arm-pits until she was almost dead. Then, at a given signal, they all shot arrows in her body so thick, that hardly a pin could be placed between them. The arrows were immediately taken from her flesh, and it was all cut off from her bones in pieces not larger than half a dollar, and put in baskets. All this was done before she was quite dead. Then the principal chief took a piece of the flesh, and squeezed it until a drop of blood fell upon the corn that was just planted, and this was done to all they had in the ground.

“This is the way they treat prisoners of war out here. The foregoing was told me by a friend of indisputable veracity, who was on the ground at the time. In June last, the narrator’s wife’s brother was taken prisoner by the Sioux, and treated in the same manner.

“I have visited the Ottoes, eight miles from here, and have been forcibly struck with their superstitious burials of the dead. When a warrior of note dies, they kill one of the best horses of the nation on his grave, and then cut off the tail, and tie it to a pole fifteen feet high, and there leave it. They believe the spirit of the horse will serve the spirit of the warrior in the next world.”

## CHAP. VI.

Environs of Athens—Springs of Helicon—Cotton factories—Blacks and whites employed together—Slave labour and free—Dissatisfaction at the mode of levying taxes—Whitney's cotton-gin—Fourth of July oration—English and American orators—Slight influence of ladies on manners in America—Description of American parties by a native writer—Nocturnal removal of a house by negroes—Negro girls used as footmen behind carriages—Excessive affectation of delicacy—Anecdote of a Dutchman and a Moravian preacher—Protracted meetings of the Presbyterian church.

THE environs of Athens furnish many agreeable drives and rides, and among other spots may be named that of the Springs of Helicon, about four miles from the town: though the Athenians of Georgia have not yet realized in them the properties of the Grecian Helicon. The waters are chalybeate, and used by invalids for giving tone to the stomach, and strengthening the digestive powers. There are many ordinary springs of pure water in the neighbourhood of the town, but they had many of them failed in consequence of the severe and long-continued drought. A gentleman residing in the country to the west of this, was, indeed, obliged to send every day ten miles for the supply of water for his household, every spring within that distance having dried up. Before we left Athens, however, three days of heavy and incessant rain had refreshed the thirsty earth, replenished the exhausted springs, and rejoiced all the planters' hearts.

On the banks of the Oconee river—one fork of which runs close by the town of Athens, in a deep

valley, the town itself being on a hill, and the other forks at a distance for a few miles only—are three cotton factories, all worked by water-power, and used for spinning yarn, and weaving cloth of coarse qualities for local consumption only. I visited one of these, and ascertained that the other two were very similar to it in size and operations. In each of them there are employed from 80 to 100 persons, and about an equal number of white and black. In one of them, the blacks are the property of the mill-owner, but in the other two they are the slaves of planters, hired out at monthly wages to work in the factory. There is no difficulty among them on account of colour, the white girls working in the same room and at the same loom with the black girls; and boys of each colour, as well as men and women, working together without apparent repugnance or objection. This is only one among the many proofs I had witnessed of the fact, that the prejudice of colour is not nearly so strong in the South as in the North. Here, it is not at all uncommon to see the black slaves of both sexes, shake hands with white people when they meet, and interchange friendly personal inquiries; but at the North I do not remember to have witnessed this once; and neither in Boston, New York, or Philadelphia would white persons generally like to be seen shaking hands and talking familiarly with blacks in the streets.

The negroes here are found to be quite as easily taught to perform all the required duties of spinners and weavers as the whites, and are just as tractable when taught; but their labour is dearer than that of the whites, for whilst the free boys and girls employed receive about 700 dollars per month, out

of which they find themselves, the slaves are paid the same wages (which is handed over to their owners,) and the mill-owner has to feed them all in addition ; so that the free labour is much cheaper to him than the slave ; and the hope expressed by the proprietor to me was, that the progressive increase of white population by immigration, would enable him to employ wholly their free labour, which, to him would be more advantageous. The white families engaged in these factories, live in loghuts clustered about the establishment on the river's bank, and the negroes repair to the huts allowed them by their owners when they are near, or stay at the mill, when their master's plantation is far off.

The whites looked miserably pale and unhealthy ; and they are said to be very short-lived, the first symptoms of fevers and dysenteries in the autumn appearing chiefly among them at the factories, and sweeping numbers of them off by death. Under the most favourable circumstances, I think the Factory system detrimental to health, morals, and social happiness ; but in its infant state, as it is here, with unavoidable confinement in a heated temperature, and with unwholesome associations, it is much worse, and I do not wonder that the most humane members of the community deplore the introduction of factories in the South, and wish that the labours of the people should be confined to agriculture, leaving manufactures to Europe or to the States of the North. The machinery of these establishments is made at Frankford in New Jersey, the cotton is grown here, and the wool, of which they use large quantities in the production of a coarse cloth of cotton and wool

mixed, for negro clothing, is imported from Africa to New York, being coarser but much cheaper than wool from any part of Europe, and answering their purpose equally well.

On our return from the Factory, we visited the burial-ground of Athens, which was as yet unenclosed, though I do not remember a similar instance anywhere else in the United States. It was in a pleasing situation on the slope of a hill, going down to the river, with many large oak, hickory, locust, and fir trees, on it. It might, indeed, be made a beautiful cemetery ; but though there were several neat and well-executed tombs and monuments, this resting-place of the dead appeared to me the most neglected spot in all the settlement, though it was within a few yards of the University, and passed through by the living every day.

The municipal government of Athens is in the hands of a body of Town Commissioners, sometimes called Aldermen, but there is no Mayor nor other office corresponding to this. The Board of Commissioners, who serve gratuitously, are seven in number, and they are elected annually, by universal suffrage and vote by ballot, every white male of twenty-one years of age, residing in the town, having a voice in their election. These Commissioners are empowered by an act of the State Legislature, to tax the inhabitants of the town for the general expenses of public works, such as the making and repairing bridges, roads, &c. and the payment of the only salaried officer employed, who is called the Town Marshall, and who has 500 dollars a year. It is his duty to maintain the peace of the town ; and after nine

o'clock at night he is empowered to apprehend all coloured people found out of their dwellings without a pass, and to imprison or flog them at his discretion. This power is, as may be supposed, often abused ; and the last Marshall of the Town resigned his office, because he flogged a coloured girl so severely that she died of the punishment, and he refused to make compensation to the owner. Such was the most current version of the transaction among the residents ; though on this, as on every other local question, there are sure to be different accounts of everything that transpires. There is no doubt, however, that great severity was exercised, and that the death of the culprit ensued.

The mode of assessing both the State and town taxes here is much complained of. Instead of its being on property or income, the most equitable of all modes of assessment, it is made chiefly on merchandize and stock in trade. The legislators, being mostly landowners, have contrived to exempt landed property and its produce, as well as negroes and cattle, which are *their* instruments of production, and stock in trade, from taxation ; while the traders and storekeepers, who have stocks of goods, pay heavily. As the assessment takes place at different seasons of the year, it has been ascertained, that the goods forming the stock of an importer, have been taxed at Savannah in the early part of the year, and when sent up to Augusta, to have been taxed again in the warehouse of the merchant there ; and, lastly, in the latter part of the same year, to have been taxed a third time in the store of the retailer at Athens. All attempts to alter this have hitherto

been in vain ; as the prejudice of the country people against those living in towns is very strong ; and the planters and farmers continually assert that as they are the only people who rise early and work hard, they ought to be exempt from taxation, while the townspeople, whom they consider as a class of mere idlers, ought to pay the public burthens, however heavy they may be.

This unwillingness to pay even that which is justly due, is however a very general feature of the American community ; and I have not yet discovered any difference between the Northerners and the Southerners in this respect. They mutually reciprocate the charge that they are each taxed unjustly for the benefit of the other ; and in this the Southerners say truly ; because the tariff-laws of the North undoubtedly impose heavy taxes on the South for the protection of Northern manufactures ; while the people of the North are doing all they can to force on the abolition of slavery, which, say the Southerners, would rob us of our property, and means of conducting agriculture. That the South, however, is as unwilling as the North, to pay its just debts, whenever it can evade them, the following fact sufficiently proves. The inventor of the cotton-gin, most generally in use here, Mr. Whitney, was a native of America, and when his invention was completed he took out a patent for it at Washington. This patent was continually infringed upon by dishonest men in his own State, who used it without his permission, or without paying him for the privilege, though he sold this to all applicants for a very moderate sum. Many, however, made a show of

intending to be just, by purchasing the privilege to use this patent-right, and gave an acceptance of a bill under their own hand for the amount at a short date. When such bills became due they were almost uniformly refused payment, or renewed for a longer time on various pretences ; and when at length their number became so considerable as to make it necessary to take legal process for their recovery, whenever it was ascertained that the consideration for which the bill was given, was the purchased privilege of using this patent cotton-gin, no jury would find a verdict for the plaintiff, because they wanted that all the planters throughout the whole State should use these cotton-gins without paying for the privilege ! By making it impossible to recover damages in such cases, the machine could be used with impunity ; and in point of fact the patent ceased to be productive of the least benefit to the inventor, at least in this State, though all his fellow-citizens here were so much benefited by his labours, Georgia being then the largest cotton-growing State in the Union. In South Carolina, however, where much less benefit was received, the State voted him a grant of 50,000 dollars for his invention.

I have before had occasion to remark, on the universal complaint among editors of newspapers and magazines in the North, that subscribers to their several publications never pay up their arrears ; and I have heard it stated, on good authority, that some of the most extensively circulated papers in New York, have 100,000 dollars on their books, and would gladly sell the whole for 25,000 dollars cash, and think themselves fortunate to obtain so much.



The literary publications of the South make the same complaint, as witness the following, taken from the Southern Literary Messenger of Virginia, for May, 1839—

“TO DELINQUENT SUBSCRIBERS.—We desire most respectfully to say to our delinquent subscribers, that we find it absolutely necessary to appeal to their justice. If they do not think our labours worth five dollars a year,—why don't they say so in plain English, and, after having paid up their subscriptions in full, withdraw altogether? We assure them most solemnly—(and we do not think it necessary to prove our assurance by a reference to mathematics, logic, or any of the learned sciences)—that one *paying* subscriber is worth ten who *pay not at all*. There is no mistake about the matter—and if any are incredulous, we pledge ourselves to satisfy them hereafter. In the mean time, we hope that it will not be regarded as unkind, illiberal, or unjust, if, in absolute self-protection, we should feel obliged at the close of the present year TO STRIKE ALL THOSE FROM OUR LIST WHO SHALL HAVE BEEN IN ARREAR MORE THAN TWELVE MONTHS. We desire clearly to understand upon what ground the Messenger must rest—and whether there is really sufficient taste—love of letters—sectional pride—and, we might add, love of country—to support one periodical in this great Southern region—at a time, when in the Northern, Western, and Middle States, there are hundreds devoted to the cause of literature, and many of them well sustained by patronage.”—*Verb. sat.*

If any class of readers might be expected to be free from this reproach, it would undoubtedly be the religious; but with these, it seems to be quite as much the practice to read and not pay, as it is among the profligate. There is a Methodist newspaper, called “The Conference Journal,” published at Richmond, in Virginia, and the profits of it are devoted to the maintenance of the widows and orphans of deceased preachers, in the Virginia and

North Carolina circuit. Yet, even here, in a circle it may be supposed of exclusively religious readers, with a paper in which nothing but religious subjects are discussed, and with a devotion of its profits to so truly religious and charitable a purpose, as the maintenance of the widows and orphans of the preachers of their own sect, the "delinquent subscribers" seem to be as numerous as in the case of literary or political journals, if one may judge from the following announcement, taken from the Conference Journal, of June 20, 1839—

"WANTED IMMEDIATELY.—At this office, five thousand dollars: more than this is due, but we will content ourselves for the present with the above, *if we can get it*. We do not beg this, nor do we wish to borrow it; we *claim* it as justly *due* us; and we are satisfied that *a thousand* or *fifteen hundred* of our subscribers, would have a better conscience, and a clearer claim to the reputation of *honest* and good men, if the amount was paid."

We passed the great national anniversary of the 4th of July, at Athens; and after an agreeable morning ride to the Helicon spring, and drinking of its fresh and pure chalybeate waters, I attended the chapel of the University, at which the oration suitable to the day was to be delivered. The assembly was large and respectable, and contained quite as many ladies as gentlemen. It is usual for the two literary societies attached to the University, the Phi-Kappa and the Demosthenian, to elect alternately the orator from their body; and on this year, the Demosthenians furnished the speaker. The minister of the Methodist church presided, he being one of the Board of Trustees of the University, and after the reading of

the Declaration of Independence, which is always done on this occasion, the young orator, a student of eighteen or twenty, advanced to the platform, wearing the badge of the Demosthenian Society, and delivered his address. The matter of this was better than the manner, at least, according to the taste which usually prevails in Europe, where the vehemence of voice, frequency of emphasis, and continued action of the arms and body, would have been thought too theatrical for the place and the occasion. But the taste of the Americans, as regards oratory, inclines them to admire the turgid, the florid, and the bombastic, rather than the subdued and unimpassioned. I was seriously asked, indeed, by one of the auditors, after the close of the oration, whether America did not produce more eloquent orators than England. It was conceded that the English were more profound and more learned; but the opinion of at least a dozen of our party was, that she could not equal the United States in the production of brilliant public speakers. It is certain that oratory is much more studied as an art in this country, than it is at home; and that public speaking and debating is more frequent, and superiority in both more eagerly sought after, and more esteemed, than in England; but with all this, I have not yet heard any of their most distinguished men, such as Clay, Webster, Calhoun, Wise, Hoffman, or any others, make such eloquent and impressive speeches as are heard every session in England, from Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Brougham, Sir Robert Peel, Lord Palmerston, Lord Stanley, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Daniel O'Connell, Mr. Shiel, and others among the peers and com-

moners of England. The difference is still more marked in the students of the Universities and public institutions of the two countries; for the speeches and recitations of the students at Oxford, Cambridge, Eton, Westminster, Winchester, and Harrow, are, in general, greatly superior, in extent of learning, accuracy of composition, beauty of diction, and, above all, in elegance of action, purity of elocution, and grace of delivery, to those of Harvard, Providence, and Athens, which I had an opportunity of hearing, and with which, therefore, I was enabled to compare them.

One most disgusting feature of all the oratory that I have yet heard in the Southern States, is the constant interruption to the flow of their discourses, by the almost equally copious flow of their saliva, from their excessive use of tobacco. In the churches, at public lectures, in private parties, or in public assemblies, you hear every minute the sound of the labial ejection, and its fall upon the floor; while the chewers roll about the offensive and blackened mass in their mouths, as though it was all that was worth living for. Each young man carries in his waistcoat pocket, not in a box, but open, a flattened square mass of black compressed tobacco, like a piece of Indian rubber. From this he cuts off, from time to time, whether in the company of ladies or not, a large piece, and, taking the expended quid from his mouth, he flings it out of the window, or in any near corner, and replaces it by the new one, which he forthwith begins to roll about like any ruminating animal. Their practice is literally that of "chewing the cud," though they want the "dividing the hoof," to take

them out of the class of "unclean beasts." With some this practice produces the effect of giving an unhealthy paleness to the countenance, and hollowness to the eyes; while the corners of the lips are always defiled, and the mouth, when opened, realizes the image of the "whited sepulchre, without all fair, but within, only dead men's bones and rottenness." With others, the effect produced seemed to be an extreme degree of wildness and ferocity in the eye and countenance. From what I observed here, as well as elsewhere, I do not doubt but that the extensive use of tobacco by chewing, has a tendency to make men dissipated, reckless, violent, impatient, and sensual. It has some of the evil effects of ardent spirits and opium, and, like both of these poisons, it is not productive of the slightest benefit, to counteract the many evils which they produce. How it is that the ladies of America, married and unmarried, do not with one voice and one accord, refuse the approach of lips so filthily defiled, and turn with disgust from the offensive spitting in their presence and at their very feet, does, I confess, surprise me as much as anything I have ever seen in this country. It shews that habit will reconcile people to almost anything, though this is one of the practices to which I think no degree of familiarity, and no extent of time, would ever reconcile any one who thought fresh lips, sweet breath, and personal purity, essential to the enjoyment of intimate and friendly, not to say familiar and fond intercourse.

It is thought by some that Mrs. Trollope and Miss Fanny Kemble have said too much of this; but for my own part, I think kindness to the Ame-

ricans themselves should induce every one who visits their country, and desires to see them taking their place among the civilized and polished nations of the earth, to hold up to them the mirror of their defilement in this respect, and urge them by every means in their power to abandon this filthy practice altogether. It should be left to the savage tribes, with the tomahawk and the scalping-knife, the warwhoop and the rum-bottle, but be banished for ever from a people claiming to be polished and refined.

By the way, it is remarkable that the native Indians never chew tobacco ; they only use it in the pipe ; and though snuffing, smoking, and chewing are all dirty practices, and detract much from the personal cleanliness, sweetness, and general acceptability of all who practise either ; yet chewing seems to be the most offensive of all, and in every part of Europe has long since been confined to the lowest and most vulgar classes of society, with gin-drinking and beer-drinking, the natural allies of tobacco in all its varieties of uncleanness. It is singular, however, that of the three forms in which this poisonous weed is used, smoking is the only one publicly prohibited in certain places. It would not be tolerated for men to smoke in a ball-room, or concert-room ; nor is it ever done in a place of worship ; but the floors of all three are covered, after every time of occupation, by the stains of those who chew. In steamboats, railroad cars, and other places of great public resort, it is very common to see the placard, "Gentlemen are requested not to smoke here ;" but the still more offensive practice of chewing and spitting is allowed with impunity. I have

never yet heard a single American female speak of the practice without regretting it ; and when asked their opinion on the subject, they have always confessed that they disliked it, and wished it could be altered. But they do not possess nearly so much influence in directing the manners and practices of society in this country, as women do in England or in France ; and, therefore, their wishes are less regarded. The external marks of deference shown to them by men giving them the best places in steam-boats and stage-coaches, and rising to give them seats in public assemblies, is not accompanied by a similar deference for their opinion and authority in literature, taste, or manners, as is so often seen in France or England.

One cause of the little influence apparently exercised by women over taste and manners in America, is probably this—that nearly all the large parties are composed of the young of both sexes, in the proportion of twenty to one, as compared with the married. The opinions of a young lady from thirteen to sixteen, the age of the greatest number of females in any large evening party, cannot be much regarded ; and as their judgments are necessarily immature, their taste or decision on any point of literature, taste, or manners, is rarely consulted. When ladies marry, they usually give up going into company, and confine themselves to nursing and household duties, because, they say, they receive no attention from the gentlemen after marriage, and it is not, therefore, worth their while to dress for the purpose of sitting on sofas as ciphers. Married men as well as unmarried attend such parties ; but married ladies

mostly stay at home. The married men usually herd together in standing groups, talking politics, or discussing the price of stocks and the state of markets; as there are few married ladies present, and their attention to the unmarried might be thought indecorous, or, at least an interference with their more legitimate admirers. The consequence is, that, with very few exceptions, the young persons have the whole matter in their own hands, and there is consequently a want of dignity in the subjects of conversation, of skill in the expression and interchange of sentiment, and of confidence even in their own limited powers, so that they do not even rise as high as their own judgment would approve, from mere youthful apprehension of not being able to sustain themselves. Such parties, therefore, fall into the merest gossip and inanity, and except dancing be introduced—which in many cases is not allowed, from its being supposed to be discountenanced by religion—the circle, however numerous, becomes very dull. In this opinion of the general complexion of large parties, or “society,” as it is called in America; I am borne out by a native writer, who dates from the city of Washington, and who, in a very able article, on the “Women of France,” published in the “Southern Literary Messenger,” for May, 1839, has this passage:—

“To revert to a topic on which I have already lightly touched, I would observe, that with us, society is instituted almost exclusively for the benefit of the very young and the unmarried, and its chief object seems to be to afford the opportunity and facilities of courtship. Beardless boys and boarding-school misses almost monopolize its privileges, from which persons of riper years are entirely banished. This is much to be lamented, as it gives to society a



much less intellectual cast, and confines the pleasures of social enjoyment within too narrow a circle. It is apt to convert social intercourse into whispering tête-à-tête, giggling gossip, vapid sentimentalism, upon merely personal topics. It is inconsistent, too, with the first principles of politeness, which require that respectful attention should be paid to all ladies without exception."

The intellectual and agreeable party which we enjoyed at the house of the President of the University of Georgia at Athens was an exception to this general character. But, as applied to nineteen parties out of every twenty, given in the large cities of America, the remarks appear to me to be perfectly just, and it is well that the pen of a native writer and not a foreigner thus delineates it. This exception arose from the fact of our having in the party at Athens, the president of a University as its head ; his wife, sons, and daughters ; nearly all the professors and the members of their families, the senior students who were about to graduate, and a number of their older friends and relatives from the surrounding country.

In the rides and drives about the environs of Athens—for which the cool evenings, between five o'clock and sunset, were peculiarly agreeable—we visited Baker's Spring, Rock Spring, so called from a beautiful stream of water gushing forth from the living rock, and the Helicon Spring, where a spacious and excellent hotel has been erected for visitors. I was much struck by the size of the farmers and yeomanry of the country that we met with in our way. In general, and especially all along the Atlantic sea-board, the men of the United States are

slender in form, pale in complexion, with comparatively fleshless bodies and careworn countenances, effects fairly attributable to the united causes of unfavourable climate, hurried feeding, incessant occupation in business without relaxation, great care and anxiety about money-matters, and consequent headache, wakefulness, and indigestion; causes which operate, of course, with every diversity of strength, from the scarcely perceptible to the most tangible and undoubted. Here, in the interior, among the planters and farmers especially—and these constitute the largest class—the operation of these causes is very slight, if at all known. The climate, throughout the year, from hence all the way up into the high lands and mountains of the interior, is as healthy as any in the world. The meals are not taken in the same hurried manner as in the cities, but rest, and sometimes sleep, is allowed for digestion. There is a large portion of time spent in riding, driving, and walking for pleasure, as there is in the actual occupations of business. There is not much care or anxiety about money, as the planting and farming interests have always been in a flourishing condition, and bank panics and suspension of specie payments hardly affect them at all. There is no rivalry in show, or competition in ostentation; for all live in good houses, and none in sumptuous mansions; all have as many horses and carriages as they require to use; and though there are, no doubt, considerable differences in the amount of their respective incomes, judged from the extent of their acres, yet there is no visible difference in their mode of life or external appearance. Health, light labour.

competency, content, and cheerfulness, are therefore the probable agents in giving so remarkable a number of large, ruddy, and fat men to this section of the country, as I continually met with in my way. I heard, indeed, from others, that this was the case throughout the interior of the northern parts of Georgia; and I was assured that on a late occasion, in Sparta, near the capital of this State, a jury of twelve yeomen were so uniformly large, that they were weighed, as a matter of curiosity, and found to weigh thirty-six hundred weight, or, on the average, more than three hundred pounds for each person. In an amusing article in the *Southern Whig* of Athens, for July 5, published during our stay there, entitled "State Constitutions and Fat Men," it is alleged that the State Constitution for Florida was principally framed by "Jenckes, the fat man, of Florida, who weighed from 450 to 500 lbs.;" and the amended State Constitution of Georgia was chiefly carried by the influence of "Springer, the fat man of Georgia, who is fully as large as Jencks." Dixon Lewis, the representative of Alabama, weighs nearly 600 lbs.

Our stay at the Planter's Hotel was peculiarly agreeable, for though there were no less than five public hotels, and a great number of private boarding-houses in that town, we had the good fortune to be in the best, and to have the most agreeable circle of society, including several professors of the College, and students of the University, as well as one of the clergy, and several wealthy planters, on a visit here from neighbouring States. There was only one drawback to our comfort, which, it is true, was a large one, and that was the incessant and uninter-

rupted chorus kept up every night by the dogs, cows, and hogs, that seemed to divide among them the undisputed possession of the streets at night. Not less than a hundred of each of these seemed to be at large, as though they belonged to no one, each doing its best in foraging for provender, and each endeavouring to maintain the superiority of its class, in the barking, lowing, and grunting of their respective members. If half as many negroes had made a tenth part of the disturbance to the public peace, the Town Marshall would have had them all apprehended, imprisoned, and flogged for their audacity; but hogs, dogs, and cows were privileged creatures, and though every one complained that they could get no sleep for their noises, yet every one thought it would be unsafe and unpopular to take any steps to confine or remove the animals, to prevent it. In addition to this ordinary and regular nightly concert of the brute creation, we had two or three extra nights of performance in another line, by negroes. A wooden house had to be moved from its original position to one more distant, according to a process common in the North, by being dragged along on rollers. As there are few or no labourers here but negroes, and these are all busily employed for their owners during the day, the only period at which their assistance could be had in any numbers, was at night; and a gang of men having been borrowed from their masters for this purpose, and furnished with passes, they assembled to perform their labour. The darkness of the night, the absence of their usual restraint, the distribution of whisky, and the general hilarity of the occasion, made them for a moment as joyous

and as boisterous as a set of bacchanals; so that their shouts of merriment, mingled with the yelpings, moanings, and squealings of the dogs, cows, and pigs, made up a medley that banished sleep from the eyelids of the most weary.

The white labourers here are very few; but farther in the interior they are more numerous, though the greater number of them are not native Americans, but Irish, German, or Swiss emigrants. One of the former class was employed by the proprietor of the hotel, on some labour connected with the erection of a new building, and he was said to be a fair specimen of his class; yet we had from his own lips the confession that he drank a full quart of raw whisky every day without dilution, and that he had done so for the last twelve months, with an extra gill for Sunday! Yet he assured us that he did not drink nearly so much as many of his Irish fellow-labourers!

Though the cows of the town appear to be generally left to go at large, and pick up what subsistence they can in the grass and shrubs of the wayside, we heard an instance of extraordinary care in the treatment of cattle by one of the residents here. He had heard that the quantity and quality of milk given by a cow, might be very much increased and improved by nursing the animal and pampering it, and, accordingly, he had his five cows stalled like horses, with a manger for hay, a crib for oats, a fresh straw bed every night, and currycombs for the hide every morning. They were kept warm by bodycloths in the winter, kept cool by shade in summer, and treated in all respects as a high-groomed horse would be; and the result was, the production of twenty quarts

of milk per day, from the most prolific, and fifteen quarts from the least so ; while the milk itself, as we could testify from having used it regularly, was of a very superior quality to any we had before met with in the United States.

One of the novelties we observed here, was the use of negro girls to stand behind private carriages, holding the straps like a footman ; and they performed the same office by stepping down to open the carriage door, and assist the riders to get in and out, after which they resumed their station, and stood as steadily as if long habit had rendered their position familiar to them.

There were some peculiarities of pronunciation that I heard at Athens, which I had not met with elsewhere. The word prepared, was generally pronounced "preparred," the last syllable sounding like tarred. Where, was also pronounced "wharr," to rhyme with far or star. The writ of habeas corpus was called the writ of "hab-beas ;" and these were not the peculiarities of an individual, but were frequently repeated by different persons. Notwithstanding such exceptions as these, it is undoubtedly true that the differences in the pronunciation of English words, is not nearly so great between America and the best part of England, as it is between the different counties of England themselves ; and on the whole, the English language is spoken in greater purity and with greater accuracy over the United States of America, than it is over Great Britain, while there is more homogeneity of character, as well as of speech, in this single nation, made up of twenty-three united provinces, than there is in the single nation of England, made

up of only four separate people, the English, Scotch, Irish, and Welsh.

Among the peculiar application of terms, the following may be mentioned. The word *balance* is constantly used to signify the remainder of anything, as, "I shall spend the summer in the mountains, and the balance of the year on the sea-coast,"—or, "I shall be at my office in the morning, and the balance of the day in the country."—"I have only read the first volume of Cheveley, but I shall finish the balance by to-morrow ;"—and at dinner, it is not uncommon to be asked "What will you take for the balance of your dinner?" The beautiful firefly which abounds here, and fills the air with sparkling gems at night, is called by the uninviting name of "the lightning bug!" If a person has taken a sail or a row in a boat or canoe, this is called "riding on the water." If one has been hospitable to another, this is expressed by the phrase "he shewed him a heap of kindness." If one is advised to be very courteous and attentive to any particular person, this is expressed by saying "Now do your prettiest." A lady who had six children, the eldest of whom was about twelve years old, wishing to express the fact that their respective ages were in very close succession, said, "You see my children are all well and healthy, but they are considerable of a huddle."

Sometimes there is extreme reluctance to use particular words, because they are supposed to convey associations that ought to be avoided. For instance, I heard that on the night of the party given at the University, the president, Dr. Church, had received a slight injury in the head, by a stone being thrown

in the direction where he stood, by one of the younger class of students who were dissatisfied with their not being included in the invitation, though it was never usual to extend it beyond the seniors. But the lady who mentioned this incident to me, said, "The little boy threw a *rock* at the president;" on which I expressed my surprise, thinking he must be an infant Hercules to hurl a rock; when she replied, "Oh! no, it was a very small rock, and therefore the injury was very slight." I found afterwards that it is thought indelicate to use the word stone; and that they say a house is built of rock, the streets are paved with rock, and the boys throw rocks at sparrows, and break windows by throwing rocks. To speak of the tail of a horse, or any other animal, is deemed most indelicate, and the words hip and thigh must not be mentioned. This fastidiousness is carried to such a length, as to lead to alterations in the prayers of the Episcopalian service, and even in the language of the Bible. The passage in the Litany, "When thou tookest upon thee to deliver man, thou didst not abhor the virgin's womb," is thought too shocking for the public ear; and the passage in which prayer is offered for "all women labouring with child," is also thought too gross to be uttered. In the mutilations of Scripture, these two cases were mentioned to me by a clergyman who had himself heard them. In the passage of Genesis, in which the curse is pronounced on the serpent, "On thy belly shalt thou go," the preacher read it "On thy stomach shalt thou go;" and in the passage of the Evangelist, where the Saviour says to Peter, "Verily, before the cock shall crow, thou shalt deny me thrice,"



another preacher read it thus, "Before a *certain fowl* shall crow, thou shalt deny me thrice." Some instances of this nature were mentioned to me, which I cannot commit to writing ; but they were all of a nature to show that the avoidance of the supposed indecent word, was sure to suggest the very associations which these fastidious manglers of the liturgy and the scriptures professedly wished to avoid ; and made persons ask themselves, why the original terms were omitted, and other phrases substituted in their places ; so that instead of accomplishing the end proposed, of preserving a greater purity of thought, it produced the very opposite effect.

During our stay at Athens, I attended three of the assemblages of public worship convened by the Presbyterian church, for what are called "protracted meetings," which consist of a continuous assembly held during the morning, afternoon, and evening, for a given number of days, devoted to prayer, singing, and preaching. Besides the pastor, other ministers of the same persuasion are invited from the surrounding country, and all legitimate means are taken to get up the strongest excitement of a devotional nature, that new members may be added to the church, and old ones renewed and invigorated in spirit. These protracted meetings are the means for promoting revivals, and the only difference between these and camp meetings is, that the former is the name given to them when held in towns, the latter when they are held in the country. At these meetings in Athens, the preachers I heard were Dr. Church, the president of the University, Mr. Hoyt, the Presbyterian pastor, and Mr. Bowman, the minister from Greens-

borough. The congregations were not large, less indeed, than a hundred on each occasion; there were more women than men, and more young persons than old. Many of the students of the University were present, and each brought a young lady of the village with him; but on reaching the interior of the church, the sexes separated; the ladies all sitting together in the centre, and the gentlemen all repairing to the side-pews, where they sat apart.

This was the case in each of the three churches I attended at Athens, though in other parts of America it appeared to me to be confined to the Methodists. Whether the general practice among the Methodists arises from a belief that if persons of opposite sexes sit in the same pews, it will divert the attention of each from their devotion; or whether, in this town especially, it is thought that the number of young collegians and their fair companions would, if seated together, lead to other consequences than those desired to be produced, I know not; but every one here thought this separation of the sexes a wise and proper arrangement.

I observed nothing peculiar or indecorous in the conducting of these protracted meetings at Athens. They were fervid and impassioned, it is true, but not more so than is often witnessed in England, under a popular Methodist preacher. The numbers were too few to get up the flame, which a multitude can more readily kindle; besides which, a lady observed to me, that the ministers, who took a lead in this matter, were not good "Revivalists;" that is, not skilled in the art of drawing forth the vehement expressions and passionate exclamations, the trem-

blings, and sobbings, and struggles, which a true revival requires. There were many, indeed, both male and female, among my informants, who thought this a failure, and attributed it to imperfect or unskilful organization :—the time of the year was thought to be too early ; the elders and members had not exerted themselves sufficiently in the private circles of their acquaintance, to bring in hearers ; the members were too few ; the preachers were too cold, and the spark could not be fanned into a blaze. Other similar meetings in the town during the last year, and at a later period, were referred to as “ better managed,” and therefore more successful. That of the Methodist church lasted eighteen successive days and nights, with singing, preaching, and prayer, three times each day, without intermission ; and fifty new members were added to the church by open profession of religion. The Presbyterian revival was nearly as long, and quite as productive of converts. The pastors and the elders usually determine the period at which it is proper to begin the work of a revival ; and everything is duly arranged, prepared, and organized, to make it as effective as possible.

However free from objection was all I saw or heard at the meetings here, I was assured, by members of the church, and persons of undoubted piety and veracity, that such meetings elsewhere were not always so. One gentleman mentioned to me, that in the State of New York a meeting had been held for forty days and nights in succession, in imitation of the fasting and temptation of the Saviour ; and that he had attended several of its sittings. But though the quarantine was observed, as to the

number of its days, there was nothing else in which the resemblance was complete. The ministers employed in this revival were very numerous, and many of them young and handsome men. When they saw a female under excitement, they would leave the desk beneath the pulpit, and go to her in the pew, take her by the hand, and squeeze it with ardour, look stedfastly in her eyes, stroke her on the neck, and head, and back, with the palm of the hand, give her spiritual consolation, and sometimes kneel down with her to pray on the same cushion. One of these was a married lady of great personal beauty, who was attending with her two daughters, but there was no husband or brother with them. The minister was so attracted by her beauty, and overwhelmed by her state of excitement, that after the prayer he placed his head beneath her bonnet, and attempted to "salute her with an holy kiss." She drew back, and refused his embrace. Her friend, my informant, saw this; and was in the act of rising to proclaim the offence, and to resent it on the spot; but the lady prudently prevented it, by a timely intimation with her hand, of her wish for him not to move or notice it; and assigned as her reason afterwards, that if made public at the time, it might have broken up the meeting, and brought a scandal on revivals generally, whereas this was but the offence of one man. The gentleman assured me, however, that this was not a solitary instance of such attempts, many of which were more successful, and that the moving of the ministers to and fro from pew to pew, their seizing the women by the hand, pressing and fondling various parts of their bodies, melting into tears with

them, holding their hands together for a long period, and sometimes sustaining them in their arms from falling, were quite common.

By such means as these, many hundreds of converts were brought into the church, the chief portion of whom were females, some not more than seven or eight years old, but the greater number were between fifteen and twenty years of age. My informant further added, that not long after this, he was at Ballston Spa, near Saratoga, at which, towards the close of the gay season, there had been a Revival of more than usual intensity, both as to the time of its duration, and the fervour that existed through the whole period; and among the fruits of this excitement, he saw a public document in the hands of a legal gentleman, containing the affidavits of several young females, who had been prematurely made mothers of illegitimate children, some by clerical and some by lay-members of this great body of Revivalists! The churches of America, of course, no more approve of this, than do the churches of England the backslidings of her occasionally amatory preachers. There are, unhappily, wolves in sheep's clothing in all flocks; and "black sheep," as well as white, among the number.

It is quite true that Christianity should not be charged with the blame of these excesses; and equally true that its sincere and genuine disciples may preserve their integrity and chastity in the midst of such temptations. But that unprincipled men, and weak women, brought into close contact under such excitements as these, may and do create a great deal of suffering to themselves, and scandal and

odium to the very cause of religion, no man can well doubt. And although it is quite compatible with the theory and practice of pure Christianity, that there should be powerful impulses given by prayer and preaching, extensive awakenings of the hardened and profligate to a sense of their danger and the necessity of reformation, and real and genuine conversions of unbelievers to a reception of faith in the Gospel; yet, for the honour of religion itself, and the credit of its many sincere and truly virtuous professors, greater pains ought to be taken than seem to be now bestowed, to purge these Revivals of the dross that defiles them.

I had thought that here, in the heart of Georgia, I should be quite beyond the chance of meeting any old friends or acquaintances, from England especially; but we had not yet got far enough into the interior for this, for during our stay at Athens, we were visited by a literary gentleman, who had been one of the earliest writers in the "Athenæum," when first published in London, under my editorship, and who had since come to this country as a teacher, and was now at the head of a large establishment for education in Gainsville, about forty miles distant; and hearing of my being here, he had come up thus far purposely to pay me a visit, and remained here several days. We were visited also by persons who had met me at Newcastle and at Hull in England, and several who had known me in Scotland.

On the whole, the scenery, the climate, and the society of Athens, with the large attendance on three successive Courses of my Lectures, and the private hospitalities enjoyed there, made our stay at this place more than usually agreeable.

## CHAP. VII.

Journey to the Madison Springs—Forest scenery—Birds—Madison Springs—Carnesville—Specimen of an American village—Carnesville to the Falls of Tukoa—Log-church and graves—Deep solitude—Uprooted trees—Forest sunset—Inhospitability of a Georgian farmer—Curraghee mountain—Falls of Tukoa—From Tukoa to the Falls of Tuloola—Log-huts—White settlers—Splendid view from the mountains—Visit to the Cataract of Tuloola—Splendid scenery—From Tuloola to the Tugaloo river—Descent of the mountain—Cottage girl—Silkworms and silk—Fashions from New York—Farmers emigrating to the Mississippi—Sheriff and executioner.

HAVING heard that the northern portion of Georgia, in the territory lately occupied by the Cherokee Indians, contained some beautiful mountain-scenery, amidst which were two splendid Falls, but little visited by foreigners, yet equal in beauty and interest to any thing of the kind in the South; we determined to visit this section of country, and instead of returning to the North by the beaten track, to go up through this region, pass over into South Carolina, and thence go onward to the mountains of Virginia. As no public stages went by this route, it was necessary to engage private conveyances, which we effected on the following terms. An open barouche and pair was provided for our party of four; and a single-horse spring waggon was furnished for our baggage, and for these we were to pay at the rate of 12 dollars per day; estimating each day's journey at about 30 miles, making the cost, therefore, equal to about

1s. 8d. sterling per mile, as cheap as posting in England, as there are here no turnpikes or post-boys' fees.

After an early dinner, and the interchange of many farewell visits with the numerous friends we had made during our stay in Athens, we left them on Tuesday the 9th of July, at two o'clock, accompanied by the assurance of more general regrets, and warmer expressions of a hope that we might one day meet again, than so brief an acquaintance could have led us to expect. Our last view of Athens, after we had crossed the bridge over the river Oconee, and gained the heights of the opposite bank, was a pleasing one, and we left it, most probably for ever, with feelings strongly tinged with a melancholy, which we were not unwilling to indulge.

Our road lay, as usual, through the thickly-wooded forests, with which all parts of this country are covered, save the few cleared patches of cultivation that are seen at long and distant intervals. Instead of the endless pine-trees of the low-country, however, we had here a great variety of wood, and the roads being hilly, their terminations in successive ranges rising over each other, presented fine masses of vegetation in a great variety of shades of green. The population was so scanty, that for the first ten miles we did not see a single human being, though a flock of fine sheep, and a herd of long-bearded goats, were observed grazing without keepers, while hogs abounded in all parts of the woods, where they roam at large during the day, and return to their log-pens at night.

Of the trees that lined our track on either side, the most prominent and numerous were the walnut,



the chesnut, the dogwood, the white-oak, the willow-oak, the acacia, the Lombardy poplar, the black-gum, the sweet-gum, and the sour-gum ; all in rich and full foliage, and of large and vigorous growth. The road was pleasantly varied also by the many streams of running water in the hollows, where beautifully shaded spots invited a momentary stay. In some parts of the forest, there was so little of underwood, that we could see through the spaces underneath the trees for half a mile onward, and this was a great relief after the thick and tangled brushwood, which makes an impervious jungle in the greater portion of the way. It is said that wherever the Indian tribes encamped or settled, throughout this region, they always kept the forest clear of underwood, by annually burning all the rising trees and shrubs. But since their removal from the territory, the present proprietors take no such pains, and, therefore, vegetation is suffered to proceed unchecked in all its wildest exuberance. In some places the trees had been cut down for fuel and building purposes, and a second growth had already supplied their places : it was remarkable, that wherever the original growth was pine-trees, on these being cleared away, the next growth was always of oak exclusively ; on the other hand, wherever the first growth was oak alone, and these were cut down, the second growth was as invariably formed of pine only ; such being the provision made by Nature for alternate supplies of each.

Among the birds of the forest, the most frequently seen were the turtledove, the woodpecker, and the red-bird, or Virginian nightingale, whose fine scarlet

plumage, crested head-tuft, and polished black bill, looked brilliant amidst the leaves, and whose notes fell softly on the ear. As the shadows of the evening deepened, the sounds of the catydid became noisy and clamorous in the extreme. These are small winged creatures, not unlike the grasshopper in size and shape, which make their appearance usually about the 1st of July, and continue through the summer and autumn, when they disappear. The noise they make is like that of a thousand tiny rattles all in motion at the same time; and is thought not to be produced by the voice, but by the grating together of certain rough parts of the thighs and wings. This has never been ascertained, however, by actual observation; for so tenacious are they of intrusion, that if a person approaches the tree on which they are seated, ever so silently, and lays his hand upon it ever so gently, they all cease their sounds in an instant, and will not renew them till the hand is removed, and the person has for some time withdrawn.

It was about eight o'clock in the evening when we reached the hotel at the Madison Springs, where we found comfortable accommodation and good fare, and where we accordingly passed the night. It was too early in the season for company to be assembled here, though in August and September the establishment is very full of persons who come up from the sea-coast, to drink the waters, which are slightly chalybeate, and enjoy the delicious shady walks and quiet retreats by which the house is so agreeably surrounded.

After an early breakfast, we left the Madison

Springs at eight o'clock on the morning of Wednesday, the 10th of July, and proceeding over a rough road, with descending hills, we crossed a small river called the Hudson, by a wooden bridge, at which a toll of fifty cents had to be paid for our two vehicles, the first impost of this description we had met with on the road. This stream empties itself into the Savannah river above Augusta, and is only navigable for fishing-rafts and canoes.

Soon after noon we arrived at the small settlement of Carnesville, which presented a very perfect specimen of a gradually forming American village, rising into the dignity of a country-town. In its centre was the Court House of the district, and within a few yards of this were the sign-posts of three hotels. Not far off was seen the symbol of a doctor of medicine, with his name and title at full length, under a rudely delineated pestle-and-mortar, as the emblem of his profession. Right opposite to him, in a small wooden cabin of a single room, was the office of another professional man, the attorney-at-law; and within a few doors of these, were the shops of a blacksmith, a carpenter, and a saddler, with one large grocery store, at which everything sold by grocers, ironmongers, drapers, stationers, and haberdashers, in larger places, were to be found. The whole population did not exceed 250, including black and white; but as the proportion of the former grows less and less as you leave the coast and approach the mountains, there were not probably more than fifty coloured persons among the whole. At the hotel where we stopped to dine, were two fine brown bears, that had been just caught in the hills close to the

town, where they are very numerous. In addition to these, we learnt that the woods and mountains around this place were abundantly tenanted by squirrels, racoons, minxes, and wolves; the hunting of which afforded good diversion to the young men of the place.

As we passed out of the town on our way to the hills, we observed about thirty saddled horses, fastened to the branches of trees by their bridles, in a small shady grove, without any attendants. We afterwards learnt, that the farmers who come in from the country to effect sales of stock, or make purchases of supplies in the village, usually leave their horses here, to save the expense of stabling; and as no one is pressed by such extreme want in this country, as to be tempted to steal for the purpose of relieving their necessities at least in the farming districts of the interior, where food, raiment, and shelter can always be secured by a moderate degree of labour—the horses are not stolen, but are found by experience to be as safe here, as in the best-locked stables of a large city. We saw also in our way out of the town, a log-church, or meeting-house, with all the doors and windows open, and full of benches, or long forms for seats, with no one to take care of them, as these are safe from being carried off, for the reason already assigned; while around this rude place of worship were the graves of the dead, brought here from the town for interment.

From Carnesville our road lay through a deeper and thicker forest than any we had yet passed, the solitude of which was awful and depressing; and though some parts of the way were extremely rugged,

and the path continually interrupted by huge fallen trees rooted up by tornadoes, and lying with all their branches right across the road, so as to require continual windings through the brakes and underwood, to pass around them, yet other portions of the way were rendered agreeable by the fine views of the distant mountains which opened upon us in the north, to which our course was bending.

The sunset was one of the most beautiful that we had ever witnessed in the woods. The western sky was one mass of golden yellow, so rich and so intense in its hue, that the whole of the sky seen between the trees looked like a sea of amber. From the intervention of some dark masses of clouds, which subsequently obscured a portion of the sun's rays, the trunks of the trees were buried in great depth of shadow, while the topmost branches were literally illuminated by the beams which shot above the interposing clouds; and as even here they played partially only over the surface, we frequently saw, on the same tree, a portion of its branches and foliage of a deep green, others of the lightest vegetable tints, and some with the trembling leaves looking like scales of highly burnished gold, dancing and quivering with the radiance of sparkling gems. It was altogether the most strikingly beautiful picture of forest-scenery that I had ever witnessed in my life; and we all agreed that its beauty, as well as its novelty, made it the most interesting sunset we had ever beheld.

When we emerged from the deep wood, we got off the beaten track undesignedly, and passing a small log-hut, had to inquire our way. We were

here much diverted by the mingled look of curiosity and alarm, in one of the little negro-boys, who came out with the rest to answer our questions. This youth was from eight to ten years of age; and he looked with the utmost astonishment on the barouche, then at the harness, after this at the drag-chain, then at the tin pail or bucket hung under the carriage, and used to water the horses at the brooks and streams by the way, and after this again at our persons and dresses—all of which seemed to him new and incomprehensible. His fear was as remarkable as his astonishment; for he seemed to be alarmed at every movement or sound we made. After talking kindly to him, and giving him some little present to win his confidence, we at length got him to converse, and we learnt from him and his owner, that he had never been a mile from the secluded spot in which he now was, and where he had been born; that being out of the high road, he had never seen a carriage before, nor any persons whose dress or appearance resembled our own; so that he was filled with a feeling, which he explained by saying he was “frightened much;” but though he apprehended some danger, he could not say what nor why. It was, in short, just such an impression as would probably be made on a young savage in the wilds of Africa, who should see such a vehicle for the first time; and many, if not most of the younger negroes here, are probably not a single step in advance of their sable brethren on the banks of the Niger, or the plains of Senegal.

At sunset we arrived at a farm-house kept by a Mr. Holkham, to which we had been strongly recom-

mended by the keeper of the hotel at Carnesville, as being the best house on the road, where we should receive every attention, and find a comfortable place to rest for the night. There was something in the sounds of "Holkham," and "fine farm"—from the associations which these words would be sure to awaken in the mind of any one who had ever heard of the Holkham of Mr. Coke of Norfolk—which, unreasonably, no doubt, made us expect more than usual hospitality and accommodation. Our disappointment was, therefore, the more severe, when we reached the spot, to find great unwillingness on the part of the proprietor to receive us at all. He urged no personal objections, but merely said that "he had no room for strangers," that "his people were all too busy to attend to them," and that "he had nothing to give either ourselves or our horses." We would have turned from his gate, and proceeded farther on, but that the driver was wholly unacquainted with the road, and our long parley had taken up so much time that it was now quite dark. We asked, therefore, to be admitted for the night, if it were only for shelter, without food or refreshment; and even this was most reluctantly and surlily yielded to. On taking out the horses, however, and entering, ourselves, into his dwelling, we found everything so dirty, repulsive, and disagreeable, that we resolved on re-harnessing our steeds, and going forward, after all. We therefore begged Mr. Holkham to let one of his farm-boys go with us a part of the way, to get us into the direct road, for which we would readily pay him; but even this he refused, on pretence that his boy might be snake-bitten if he came back on

foot, and that he had no horse to spare for his riding. This was so inhospitable and unfeeling, that even the driver, his own countryman, could not help telling Mr. Holkham that he did not think such inhospitable treatment could be met with in any other part of America ; to which the former sullenly replied, that he did not want to be troubled with strangers, and did not care about receiving their money ; though the practice is nearly universal in these roads for such houses to receive and entertain travellers at the usual hotel rates, as an additional source of income to that yielded by their farming labours.

We proceeded onward, therefore, without a guide ; and after some difficulty amidst the many crossing and intersecting paths which we met with in the forest, we at length descried a light in the distance ; and driving on towards it, found it to be a public inn, called the Curraghee Hotel, from being seated at the foot of the Curraghee mountain. Here we alighted for the night about ten o'clock ; but found only the most miserable fare, with dirty beds, filthy servants, and only two enclosed rooms in the house for sleeping, the greatest number of beds being placed in one large room, where the male passengers, at least, all slept in common, and, when pressed by numbers, oftentimes two in a bed, and sometimes even three ! Of the two enclosed sleeping-rooms, neither was more than seven feet square ; one of them had no aperture for light or air but the door, and the other had a small opening which let out on the public veranda, so that it could not be kept open without exposing ourselves to the gaze of every passer-by. The choice



lay, therefore, between complete publicity or suffocation. There was no glass window in all the house, the open spaces, or window-frames, being furnished only with solid wooden doors, or shutters. It was with the greatest difficulty that we could procure even a candle, the business of the house being carried on after dark by the light of wooden torches. A servant took a piece of pitch-pine in his hand, lighted it at the kitchen fire, and carrying it in one hand as a candle, he did his work, whatever it was, with the other. If some operation required the use of both hands, his lighted torch was deposited erect in some part of the room where he could fix it, and his hand relieved. As an especial favour to us, who were declared to be "mighty particular," a candle was *made* while we waited for it, some threads of cotton serving for a wick, and this being enveloped in a mass of bees' wax, was brought to us quite hot from the melting. Washstands and looking-glasses were luxuries here unknown; and the travellers whom we saw in the house appeared neither to undress, shave, or wash, but simply to lie down just as they alighted from their horses or carriages, and rise up in the same manner. In our confined cell, there was not room for a single trunk, and the smallest cabin of a ship at sea, was more comfortable than this for sleeping.

We rested but little, therefore, during the night, and were stirring with the earliest dawn; there was a common wash-basin of tin-plate placed in the veranda, with a piece of coarse yellow soap, and a rough rolling-towel hung on a roller, for general use. To this some of the inmates repaired in suc-

cession for washing, but the greater number came to the breakfast-table, as early as six o'clock, as dirty as they went to bed, and the whole scene and establishment seemed hardly a single remove beyond the rudest condition of the Indians which these settlers had displaced.

The Curraghee mountain, rising just before the hotel, is an isolated, circular, and conical hill, springing up from the plain, by which it is on all sides surrounded, to a height of about 1000 feet, terminating in a sharp point, and being thickly clothed with wood from base to summit. Its name is Indian, and it forms a striking and prominent object in the picture, from every point of view.

We left this place soon after six, on the morning of Thursday, the 11th of July, and proceeded onward to the Tukoa Falls, a distance of five miles, which we reached about eight o'clock. After crossing a running brook, and arriving at the foot of an extremely steep hill, we had to alight from the carriage, and pursue our way in a narrow path, that led off from the right of the road, through a thickly wooded and romantic dell, for about a quarter of a mile or less, when we arrived at the deep valley into which the falls descend. The scene was impressive and interesting. The valley itself is about 300 feet in breadth, each of its sides being steep, but thickly clothed with trees and shrubs. The descent of the cataract is over a perpendicular cliff of solid rock, in a single fall of 180 feet. The water was not sufficiently abundant to give it the character of grandeur, but it was, nevertheless, an object of great beauty. The breadth of the stream, as it fell, appeared to be about 50 feet, but though it rolled over the edge of

the cliff in a tolerably full and compact volume. before it reached the bottom it had become like a thin transparent veil of the finest gauze or muslin, through which could be dimly seen the moss and vegetation that had collected on the surface of the rock. From the base, gradually ascending upwards, were several layers or ranges of full foliated trees, growing apparently out of the crevices of the rock, which appeared to be of micaceous limestone and schist; and on the very edge of the precipice above, were some trees having their roots on the upper platform, enabling the spectator from below to form, from their apparent height and proportion to the altitude of the cliff, some idea of the elevation of the whole. On looking steadily upward with a fixed gaze, the swift sailing white fleecy clouds, passed in rapid succession over the edge of the precipice, and the rushing of the waters in their downward motion, seen at the same time, produced a very pleasing effect; while the noise of the cataract, and the deep solitude of the dell in which we stood, assisted to complete a scene of romantic beauty and secluded grandeur.

On returning to our carriage from the Falls, we had to ascend the steep hill before us; and for this it required a greater effort than our horses had yet made; while to us, who had to make the ascent on foot, the labour was excessive under the broiling heat of the sun, with the thermometer above 90°. The angle of ascent must have been 30° at least from the base to the summit of this hill, with the additional difficulty of large ridges of rock projecting up above the road, and ruts worn by the mountain torrents to a depth of two feet below the general sur-

face, so as to require the utmost care to avoid them both, and either would be sufficient to upset the firmest and steadiest carriage made. We were all so exhausted indeed, when we reached the top, as to require half an hour's rest before we could proceed further.

In our way beyond this, we passed some log-huts, inhabited by poor white settlers. The number of their children appeared to be excessive, ten or twelve in each hut at least, and all of them with hair as white as flax, and light blue eyes. We found, on inquiry, that this was generally characteristic of the mountain-born children, even though their parents come up from the low country, where dark hair and dark eyes are almost universal; plainly showing that climate, and elevation above the sea, have some effect on the complexions of the Caucasian race, however little it may be supposed to have had on the African and Indian tribes.

In the woods here we saw, for the first time, the exquisitely beautiful bird called the tanager. It is about the size of our English thrush, of the most brilliant scarlet over all its head, neck, and body, with two jet-black broad stripes or patches on its wings; and as it happened to be seated on a branch of extremely thick foliage and in the full blaze of the sun, its sparkling radiance was like that of a ruby hung amidst the boughs.

Ascending the lofty eminence which still lay beyond the steep hill by which we had come up thus far, we enjoyed some splendid and extensive views of the hills and plains below us, the latter looking in the distance, as level as the surface of the sea, and the range extending to an horizon of 60 or 70 miles in a

straight line, or probably 100 miles including the elevations and depressions of the roads over which we had travelled. Near the summit of the hill we came to a place where the road divided, or, as it is appropriately expressed here, "where the road forks," but though there was a post erected at the forking point, and signs of directing-boards having once been placed there, they were now gone, so that we were left to conjecture our way, there being no house in sight, and no person within reach, of whom we could make inquiries. As it happened, we chose the wrong road, but being the ascending one, it took us to the very top of the mountain, from whence we enjoyed a view that was deemed a sufficient reward for our labour. It might be truly called magnificent, from the vast extent of country it embraced, and was at the same time soft and beautiful from the variety of surfaces and shadows, foliage and tints of colouring, it displayed. From hence we retraced our steps, and, taking the descending road from the fork, we crossed a deep valley, and, ascending on the other side, reached the mountain-house nearest to the Tuloola Falls, at which, we had been informed, travellers usually halted when they came here.

The house and its accommodations were not better than that from which we were so inhospitably turned away by Mr. Holkham; but here, at least, there was no unwillingness to receive us; and though the fare was "rough," as the country phrase is, and everything of the rudest kind, yet, as there was good-will and an evident desire to please, we made the best of everything, and thus inspired those around us with a wish to do their best also. The master of the house,

Mr. Taylor, was not yet returned from "the plantation," as all farms are called here ; but his wife, the mother of thirteen children, though not more than thirty-five years of age, set about preparing all we required, as far as her store would furnish it. The only bread we could procure, was that made of maize, or Indian corn ; tea and sugar were articles never used by them, but fortunately we were provided with both ; though in making the tea, a jug or pitcher had to be used instead of a tea-pot, by which leaves and water were poured out into the cup together. We made a hearty supper, nevertheless, though, according to the custom of the country, our party was made to include the driver of the barouche, the driver of the waggon, and our own white servant, all sitting with us at the same table and at the same time. It was the only place at which we saw no negroes or coloured people employed ; and we were told that there were two causes for this ; one that the farmers here were too poor in money, though rich in produce, to *buy* negroes ; the other, that the climate of the mountains was too severely cold for them in winter ; so that whites alone were used for every description of labour.

The rudeness of manners among these dwellers in the woods, is unpleasant to those accustomed to receive courtesy and respect from their attendants. The master of the house, as well as his farming men and boys, come in and out without making any sign of respect or recognition, take a chair close by your side, sit down with their hats on, their legs thrown up in the most careless position, spit their

tobacco at your feet, and accost you in the roughest way imaginable. The mistress and her grown-up daughters will do the same, wearing their cotton-quilted bonnets, with a deep curtain hanging down over the neck behind, and covering the ears and shoulders, never taking them off when they enter the room, or take their seat at the table. Another disagreeable feature of their manners is, that whatever they do for the guest or visitor, is done by them as though it were a favour; and not a service for which a fair equivalent was to be given in money paid; for though their own charges are made, and no abatement asked or wished for, they not only think, but generally contrive to say, or make you understand, that they consider you much more under an obligation to them for the accommodation they afford you, than they can possibly be to you for the money you pay to them.

We slept as well as we could on a straw mattress, placed above the soft down-beds used here by the poorest persons; but the interruption to our rest arose from the numbers of bugs with which we found all these country houses to abound. These were of the largest, blackest, and most voracious kind, so that we had often to get out of bed, and commence a hunt, before we could obtain even the respite of a short and broken repose. Add to this, the combined noises of the numerous dogs which are everywhere kept in town and country, swelled by those of the hogs, goats, sheep, and poultry, which all occupied the common yard immediately outside the aperture in our bed-room called the "window,"

but which had neither frame, glass, or shutter, and it may well be conceived that our sleep was neither sweet nor refreshing.

We arose at daylight, and set out before breakfast on our excursion to the Falls of Tuloola, on the morning of Friday the 12th of July. Our way was entirely through the woods, the distance being about two miles, and the path lying chiefly over the ridge or crest of the mountain. The trees were very varied, oaks of different kinds being the most abundant; the underwood was rich in the profusion of flowering shrubs that everywhere covered the surface as far as the eye could reach, among which rhododendrons and kalmias were the most abundant, there being many hundred beautiful bushes or trees of each. In our passage along this mountain-crest, we enjoyed another of those extensive views which carried the eye over a range of country embracing a distance of from eighty to a hundred miles, gradually descending, by various steps, or stages, from these lofty eminences, about 3,000 feet above the level of the sea, to others of 2,500, of 2,000, of 1,500, and of 1,000, which was the height of the Curraghee mountain above its own base, though that base would be at least 1,500 feet above the ocean. This conical hill formed a very conspicuous object in the picture as seen from hence, rising, like the great pyramid of Cheops at Memphis, from a level plain, and, by its steep angle of ascent on either side, resembling that pyramid, at this distance, very much in shape; while beyond it, in the direction of the plains, the vast blue level mass looked like the far-off sea.

After a ride of about half an hour we arrived at



the spot where a bar has been placed across between two trees at the end of the path, to indicate that it is unsafe for horses or carriages to proceed further. Here we accordingly alighted, and went the rest of the way on foot, reaching, after a few yards, the immediate edge of a precipice, over which we looked down into a deep glen or valley, from 800 to 1,000 feet below us, making the head dizzy to dwell on it with a steady gaze. On the opposite side of this valley, which is about 400 feet broad, we caught the first glimpse of the Falls, though the roar of their waters had been audible for the last mile before we saw them; but it was not until much perambulation and shifting of positions that we ascertained the three best points of view, which are at least a quarter of a mile from each other. From all of them the views are indescribably grand; not so much from the volume of the water in motion, for in this it is greatly inferior to Niagara, but from the height of of the fall—600 feet at least, broken into three or four separate leaps, and these partially hidden by foliage—and from the sublime masses of huge mountains that hem in the deep and awe-inspiring valley into which the waters descend. The greatest breadth of the stream did not appear to be more than 50 feet in its fullest part, and it was often not more than half that width, which contrasted with the great depth of its descent, made it appear still smaller. But the wildness and sublimity of the surrounding scenery gave a grandeur and majesty to the whole, which was most imposing. The solitude of this spot, too, is greater than even that at Tukoa, there being no dwelling nearer to the Falls than the

one at which we slept, and the savage wildness of the rocks, glens, ravines, and torrents, all combining to make up a picture of the most romantic kind.

From the scantiness of the population here, and the recent date of the scattered settlements that lie within a few miles of the Falls, the wild beasts of the forest are not yet wholly extirpated from their natural domain. Among these, the rarest seen is the cougar, or panther, sometimes called the American lion, but improperly ; as it resembles the lion in colour only, being not more than half its size, without a mane or a tuft at the extremity of its tail. In its habits it is described as being ferocious in the extreme, killing small animals wherever they are found, such as deer, sheep, hogs, calves, goats, and dogs, for the sake of drinking their blood, and attacking horses and oxen when more severely pressed by hunger. It has great power of springing, by which it will sometimes leap up into the trees of the forest, there seat itself quietly on the branches, and from thence drop down suddenly on its victim when he comes underneath. It will seize a sheep, for instance, by the throat, fling it across its back, and carry it off to its hiding-place for food ; and though travellers are not often attacked by them, they commit great ravages on the flocks of the settlers in the mountainous and thinly-peopled districts of the country.

We returned to the house about ten o'clock, to partake of a late breakfast ; and had hoped, that as sheep were so abundant, a mutton-chop might have been easily procured, but we were surprised to learn that none of the people here would eat mutton, which they thought greatly inferior to bacon or pork ; and,

therefore, the sheep were kept only for their wool, and were never killed for their flesh. From the conversation we had with the family at and after our meal, we could gather, that they held the "low-country people," as they called them, in great contempt, thought them an indolent, luxurious, and useless race, and regarded themselves as the most important class of the productive community. The "towns-people," in their estimation enjoyed privileges and monopolies at the expense of the farmers and planters ; and though they could give no explanation of the manner in which these privileges were confined to any one class to the prejudice of the others, yet they were firmly impressed with a belief that the towns-people were treated with partiality by the government, and themselves with injustice. I saw few books about the house, and those of the least useful or instructive kind, being tales and romances of the commonest order. This implied, however, that some education had been received, to the extent of reading, at least. Some of the family could also write, as the copy-book of the elder son lay exposed on one of the chairs, and in it was written, in the first page, in the worst scrawl imaginable, an entry, which showed that the propensity to boasting is not confined to the sea-coast, but has found its way into the interior also. The entry was this :—

" William Taylor, his hand and pen,  
As good a scribe as one in ten."

We left the mountain-house of Tuloola about eleven o'clock, and retraced our steps towards the Tukoa Falls, from whence our road was to branch off to the Tugaloo river, onward to South Carolina.

On arriving at the steep hill, which it had cost us so much difficulty to ascend, it looked more full of danger than when we came up. Some idea may be formed of the ruggedness of the road from this fact, that the coaches which drove this way were usually upset once in every three times passing it, though all the passengers were on foot, the wheels locked with the drags, and every care taken to prevent such accidents.\*

On reaching the foot of the hill, about five o'clock, we halted at a house not far from the Tukoa Falls, where we had taken refreshments on coming out. There was only a little girl of ten years old at home in charge of the dwelling, the mother having gone a distance of sixteen miles, to pay a visit to a near neighbour! The brother was gone to the nearest mill, which was eight miles off, with corn to grind; and the other children, one of whom was

\* On dining, some time after this was written, with the Governor of Virginia, and a party of friends at Abingdon in that State, and describing this spot, which was known among them by name of Break-neck-Hill, we were assured by a lady of the party, that on descending it on one occasion, while her husband walked, and she alone was left in the carriage, it received such a jolt, as to throw her completely topsy-turvy, and place her head in the bottom of the carriage, and her heels to the roof. She remained in this state for some minutes, thinking, as she told us, that it was the carriage that had been upset, and not herself; and it was only when her husband came to help the driver to get it out of the pit into which it had been thrown, that she discovered her mistake! The story was told with such *naïveté*, and unconsciousness of its drollery, by the fair narrator, that it set the whole party of her auditors in a roar of laughter. The husband, nevertheless, confirmed its truth.

called "Andrew Jackson," in honour of the ex-president, had gone off into the woods to play. This little girl—with whom we had a long chat while our horses were feeding, and the carriages under repair, from the shocks it had received on coming down the hill—was born in a solitary dwelling in the country, and had never seen a larger town than one containing about a dozen houses, which she thought a very large one—though she had *heard* that Augusta was much larger. She was, however, more full of curiosity than we had observed to be the case with the children generally, and asked a number of questions concerning the country we came from, and the sea we had to cross in coming here. She appeared to be filled with astonishment and terror at the description of the sea, and had great difficulty in understanding how a ship could be made as commodious as a house, and yet float upon the water; the originality of her observations on these and many other topics made our short halt there extremely entertaining and agreeable.

Leaving Tukoa, we proceeded by an excellent road—which seemed, indeed, by contrast with the one we had just passed over, to be perfection—and after a smooth and luxurious drive of eight miles, we arrived before sunset at a large farm-house and inn united, kept by a Mr. Jerritt: the directions by which we were enabled to distinguish it from other houses in the neighbourhood was this—that it was "the only house with glass windows in it on the road." While our luggage was unloading from the carriage, one of the white men assisting in this labour could not comprehend what our leather hat-

boxes were ; and when, in answer to his inquiry, he was told they contained hats, he asked whether we were carrying them about for sale, as he could not comprehend why a person should take with him any more than the hat he wore on his head. When he learnt, however, that my son and myself used cloth caps for travelling, and kept our hats in these two boxes to wear when we halted, he expressed himself surprised at such a piece of folly and extravagance as that of having more than one covering for the head at a time !

We found a larger and more commodious house than we had slept in since we left the Madison Springs, and much better fare than the rude mountaineers could furnish. We had also, for our entertainment, the society of a middle-aged lady, who boarded in the house, and who joined us at table when we supped. She gave us a narrative of her success in raising the silkworm on the leaves of the *morus multicaulis*, of which she had several plants in her garden ; and having purchased a quart of the eggs of the silkworm, she hoped to produce, from these, a million of workers, by whose labour she would be soon made rich. She showed us some of the cocoons, the silk thread she had spun from her wheel, and the cloth she had woven at her own loom, which, though coarse, was strong and even in texture. She added, that she could find a ready sale for as much as she could weave of this, at five dollars, or twenty shillings a yard, while English and French silks could be had for half the price. When asked the grounds of this extravagant expectation, she said that the people of South Carolina

were all for living on their own resources, and having no dependence on other countries ; they, therefore, readily paid double prices for silks grown and manufactured at home, because it shut out the foreign trader, and kept all the money in the country ! I could not, of course, dispute the fact about the relative rates, though I ventured to doubt the accuracy of her supposition as to the willingness of the Carolinians to pay such high prices from pure patriotism. She persisted in this, however, as beyond dispute ; and thought that all true friends of their country would rejoice to see the Americans using none other than domestic manufactures, and rendering themselves “wholly independent of foreigners.” I could not feel wonder at such sentiments as these, uttered by a country lady in the interior of South Carolina, when I remembered the expression of similar sentiments in the British House of Commons, by the advocates of the prohibitory and restrictive systems, in opposition to the doctrines of free trade. But when I asked the lady, what the cultivators of these Southern States would do with their cotton, sugar, indigo, rice, and tobacco, were it not for the “foreigners,” who were such excellent customers for them all, she was at a loss for a reply, and seemed, for the first time, to have the idea brought home to her mind, that foreign trade was at least *as* essential to the prosperity of America as of any other country ; for her previous conviction was, as she herself confessed, that America would be far better off, if she lived by and within herself, without intercourse with any other nation whatever !

Here, as in many other places of the interior, a great desire was manifested to examine the various articles of our dress, but especially those of Mrs. Buckingham. The ladies were constantly desirous of getting permission to take patterns of her gowns and caps, which was granted whenever our stay would admit of it, and always highly valued. The lady here, however, was astonished to find that they were not made in New York, but in London, for she had supposed that they were the latest New York modes; and said she had always understood that the French and English ladies invariably sent to New York for the fashions, and had their dresses made up in London and Paris, from the patterns sent there from the United States!

On retiring to rest, we were put into a large room with four beds, but fortunately we had no companions to share the room with us. When passengers on this road are more numerous, it is quite common to have all the beds occupied at the same time in the same apartment. This is a custom of the country, which is very ill associated with the excessive prudishness and affectation of its inhabitants, in avoiding all ambiguous expressions. There were no drawers or trunks for clothes; so that the garments of all the family were ranged around the room, hanging on wooden pegs, to the number of forty or fifty different articles of dress, including gowns, petticoats, and inner garments, of all sizes and materials, exposed to public view. The beds, as usual, were of three kinds; one of the softest down, another of cotton, and another of straw; the former being usually preferred by the people of this country, but the latter



by strangers, as more nearly resembling moss or hair, which is too expensive to be found in any but the very best houses.

At daylight we were awakened by the sound of a common horn, with which it is the custom in the country districts to summon everybody to rise, instead of ringing a large bell, which is the custom in the towns; and as we did not intend to leave till nine o'clock, I took a walk around the farm, and conversed with the farmers before breakfast.

The climate of this elevated region not being sufficiently warm for the cultivation of cotton, the soil is devoted to the growth of wheat, oats, and maize, or Indian corn. The former is said to have yielded a larger harvest in the present year, than in any preceding one within the memory of man; arising from the fact, that the high prices of wheat in the last year, induced the farmers to turn every acre of land to the growth of this. The fluctuation in price, in consequence of this increased quantity, was supposed to be as much as from two dollars, or eight shillings a bushel, the price it bore last year—down to fifty cents, or two shillings a bushel, which it was expected to be this year, when the harvest, now nearly completed, should be fully gathered in. One of the farmers, who was upwards of sixty-five years of age, told me that he had made up his mind to emigrate next year, to the valley of the Mississippi: and when I asked him what could induce him, now so far advanced in life, and with a large family, to move so far from his home, he replied, that there was too much aristocracy here for him! I asked him who or what constituted the aristocracy of which he

spoke. He said they were the rich men of these parts, who bought up all the land at extravagant prices, and left none for the poorer citizens to purchase ; the prices which he deemed so extravagant being from ten dollars an acre for the freehold property. I asked him whether he could not rent land from these proprietors, and live by farming in this way. He said, yes ; but added, that the rent demanded was extravagant also, amounting to ten barrels of corn for a small farm of twenty acres ; which, in sterling money would be about one dollar per acre for annual rent, without tithes or other imposts, and no expense of manure or draining. I asked him what he would think of paying ten dollars an acre rent, and a tenth of all the produce of the farm besides, which was the rate paid by many English farmers. He replied that "no land in the world could stand such a rent ;" and he evidently doubted the fact of its ever being paid. Among the peculiar expressions used here, travelling rapidly is called "moving peert ;" and to provide a family with food, or to feed them, is expressed thus—"He always grows enough to *bread* his own people for a year at least, and sells the balance." The white men looked healthy, but were all slender, and the growing youths of both sexes were peculiarly tall and thin, with long features, light hair, and wholly without the fine ruddy complexions of the English peasantry.

We left our station at nine o'clock, on the morning of July 13th, and after less than a quarter of a mile, we crossed the Tugaloo river by a wooden bridge. We thus passed from the State of Georgia into that of South Carolina, this river being the dividing

boundary between the two. The roads now began to wear an improved appearance, the population were not so thinly scattered, and coloured people were more frequently met with, all arising from the greater length of time during which Carolina had been a settled country, while Georgia was of much more recent origin, and its interior not long since left by the Indians, its original inhabitants.

At the distance of a few miles only beyond the river, we were overtaken by a man on horseback, of very common manners and appearance, riding without coat or waistcoat, a dirty trousers and shirt, both of Georgia nankeen, a beard of at least a week's growth, and a hat in a state of great dilapidation, but who, nevertheless, was the Sheriff of the County in which we were travelling. This fact we learnt from himself, as he pointed out to us, while he rode along by our carriage, a rude gallows, formed by a horizontal beam, resting on the branches of two large adjoining trees, close by the road-side, on which, but a few months since, he had hung, with his own hands, a negro convicted of the murder of three white persons, at a bridge in the neighbourhood of the place of execution. The history of the case was this. A planter from Carolina, travelling with his son and daughter, had purchased a negro from another white man, and employed him as the driver of his carriage. The person selling the negro, happened to know that the gentleman purchasing him had a large sum of money with him, to the amount, it is said, of 8,000 dollars, and he conceived the diabolical plan of hiring the slave to murder his new master, and seize his wealth, on condition that the negro

should have a share of the plunder, and receive his freedom besides ! The slave readily assented to this, and watching his opportunity while all three of the party were asleep on a sultry afternoon, he took a small axe, with which he had provided himself, and beat out the brains, first of the father, and then of the son and daughter. In these lonely roads, there being no one near, he had time to drag the bodies separately into a neighbouring ditch, and there leave them, while he went off with the empty carriage in another direction. He was soon, however, arrested ; the traces of blood on the road having led to the discovery of the bodies and the detection of the murder. When brought to trial, he confessed his guilt, and stated the facts already mentioned, as to the instigation to this act being given by his former master, and the conditions of reward promised him for its commission. But, by the laws of this and other Slave States, the testimony of a negro cannot be received in any case against a white man ; and therefore, though the general opinion was that the negro was speaking truth—as the bad character of his former master rendered it more probable that he should be the instigator of the murder for the sake of the plunder, than that the negro should have committed such a deed on a whole family, in whose service he had been but a few days,—yet a negro's evidence against a white man cannot be legally taken ; so that the instigator escaped all punishment, while the negro was hanged for executing his former master's wishes.

As we travelled along from hence through a thick forest, we saw several wild turkeys both in the under-wood and on the wing. These are among the finest

birds of the country for food, and are therefore much sought after by sportsmen. They are so exceedingly quick, however, in perceiving the approach of any one, that before the fowler can get sufficiently near for a shot, they conceal themselves in the shrubs and grass so effectually, that nothing but a well-trained dog will find them out. If slightly wounded they use both legs and wings for escape, and run on, like the ostrich, with so much rapidity, that they cannot be overtaken by the fleetest runner, and, unless shot dead, they usually escape.

In this road we overtook a shooting party of pedestrians, one of whom had shot a skunk, a fact which was known before we approached them, by the stench with which the atmosphere was filled. This little quadruped, hardly larger than a rabbit, and having nothing offensive in its appearance, abounds in the woods, and is sometimes chased by the younger and more inexperienced sportsmen, and sometimes hard pressed by dogs; but in both cases the mode of defence or escape used by this creature is the same. As soon as its pursuers are within a few feet of its body, it lifts up its long and bushy tail, high in the air, like a fox elevating his brush, and curling it over his back, he discharges into the face of the enemy, a stream of fluid so acrid in its nature, as to torture and almost blind the dogs or men on whom the torrent is poured, and so offensive in smell as almost to suffocate those who are near, and disgust all who come within its influence.

In naming their horses, dogs, and negroes, the Americans are very fond of calling them after celebrated persons, or by lofty titles; Prince, Duke,

Earl, and Marquis being common names for horses ; Augustus, Adolphus, and Lord Byron were also names that we heard ; and Washington, Wellington and Napoleon, were names borne by others ; though it is true that others of much more ambiguous celebrity were sometimes mingled with these ; and in our own carriage, Sam Patch was harnessed first with Prince, and then with Adolphus. Negroes have in general more classical and historical names ; Homer and Hector, Brutus and Scipio, Cæsar and Cato, Nimrod and Cyrus, are as common among them as John or William are with us.

Through a great portion of our way, the forests were tolerably clear of underbrush, which enabled us to see a great distance into the woods ; and many wild deer were visible, some grazing and some in motion. The sumach was among the most numerous of the shrubs we saw, and its red flower of small berries intermingling with the green foliage, enlivened the general aspect of the scene.

In the afternoon we crossed the river Seneca, by a wooden bridge, the stream being about 100 feet broad, but the water low, as it is in all the streams of the country at this season of the year ; and after a short ride beyond this, of four or five miles through a more open and cultivated country, we reached the village of Pendleton at sunset, and halted for the night.

This is a small town, containing about 500 inhabitants, with a court-house and two hotels. The district of Pendleton, of which this was formerly the centre, having been subsequently divided into two judicial circuits, with a new court-house in each, this has been abandoned, and the building being put up

to sale, was purchased by the Farmers' Society of this section, who hold their meetings here for discussions and communications connected with the improvement of agriculture and farming, which is here attended to with great zeal. The village supports a weekly newspaper, the Pendleton Messenger, and has a library and a debating-club. The hotel at which we slept, Mr. Hubbard's, was one of the best on the road, and we enjoyed our improved accommodations and improved fare. In the garden of this hotel we first saw the beautiful little humming-bird on the wing—its delicate form, small size, and exquisite colours, making it an object of peculiar interest. In the extreme South, in Louisiana and Florida, this bird is found all the year, as it is in the West India islands; but in all the other States it is a bird of passage, seen only in the summer, and retreating to its more southern home, as the cold of the winter approaches. The tubular and trumpet-shaped flowers are those from whence it most delights to draw its food; and just before it descends to plunge its long and slender bill into these storehouses, it suspends itself in the air a little above it, quivering its wings with such rapidity as to make them appear almost stationary, while the rich green and golden hues of its plumage, seen in the light of the sun, make it look like a suspended gem hung in the air.

The morning of July 14 was ushered in with heavy rain, and it was thought likely to last for several days; as it had been brought in by a northeasterly wind, which, coming over the broad Atlantic, like our south-westerly wind in England, is usually charged with clouds, that take three or four days to

discharge their moisture. We, therefore, proceeded on our way with our barouche well closed in, and left Pendleton about ten o'clock.

We had not proceeded very far before we met two farmers from the country on horseback—who, seeing a barouche so closed up on all sides, that the occupiers of it could scarcely be seen, and a baggage-cart following with five trunks, (our party being four in number,) each covered with a black bear-skin, and securely strapped—had their curiosity so excited by what, to them at least, was a very novel sight, that they could not refrain from stopping to accost the driver of the baggage-cart, to ask him what all this meant. He replied, it was merely an English family travelling in the barouche, which was shut up because of the heavy rain, and that the cart he was driving contained their baggage. “But,” said one, “how is it possible that any family could require so much baggage as a large trunk for each, and one over; while one good trunk would be enough for all the clothes that could be needed for each.” “Oh! no,” said his companion, “that isn’t it; I reckon it’s a show of some kind they are taking on to the Springs; and they’ve shut it up in the carriage, that no one may see it; and all these bear-skin boxes are the things wanted for the show when it arrives there.” With this impression both appeared to be entirely satisfied that they had made a sagacious conclusion.

In the few intervals between the heavy showers of rain that fell, the carriage was opened, but there were no novelties in the scenery or productions, beyond that of our seeing several fields planted with



tobacco, now in large full leaf, in shape and colour not much unlike a large wide-spreading cabbage ; and a fine plantation of cotton, now in full blossom, the flowers being quite white, a colour which they are said to retain all the day, but to become of a reddish hue at night.

In the course of the afternoon, we passed another river, called the Saluda, by a good wooden bridge, at which a toll of 50 cents, or 2s., was paid, this being the second or third instance only of our meeting with a turnpike at which tolls were required to be paid during our travels in the country ; and continuing our way for a few hours beyond this, over an improving and more thickly-peopled country, we arrived at sunset at the river Reedy. We forded this on the shallows, a few yards above the edge of the precipice, over which it flows in a fall of thirty or forty feet, and ascending on the opposite bank about a quarter of a mile, we entered the village of Greenville, and found comfortable quarters at the Planter's Hotel.

## C H A P. VIII.

Description of Greenville—Increased value of land—The Pine Mountain—Wolf and fox hunting—Rattlesnakes and serpents—Remarkable table-rock—Political celebrations—Singular toasts—Influence of women on politics—Flatteries of the sex—Homage to men in power—Laconic editorials—English settlers in Greenville—Extortion of coach-proprietors—Taken before a magistrate—Successful issue of the case.

WE remained at Greenville from the 14th to the 20th of July, during which I delivered, in the Methodist church there, a Course of Lectures on Palestine, which was attended by upwards of 200 persons, though the whole white population of the village is estimated at less than 1,000.

It is now about forty years since the first house was built in this village, by an emigrant settler, who thought the situation eligible, and the climate healthy; and the price he then paid for the land, of which he bought a tolerably large tract, was two dollars per acre. Since then, the healthiness and coolness of the atmosphere has gradually drawn persons here for a short summer's sojourn, until it has acquired an established reputation; and every year more and more country villas are built by wealthy people from the low-country; while visitors stop here in great numbers on their way up to the Springs of North Carolina and Virginia; and still more on

their return from the mountains to the coast. The village is at present incorporated, and has a substantial brick court-house, with Doric portico and winding-flights of granite steps ; a large brick hotel, the Mansion-house, and three others, built of wood, with a number of stores or shops of different kinds ; and some very pretty private residences. The town is well laid out, with broad and regular streets, and has the prospect of becoming a large and well-frequented place ; its air, water, scenery, and neighbourhood, all combining to make it attractive. There are three churches, Episcopalian, Methodist, and Baptist, and two large and well-conducted academies, male and female. Land bought forty years ago for 2 dollars an acre, now sells for 30 dollars near the town, and for 200 dollars an acre in the best building positions, though the basis of a large portion of the town is solid rock ; and the price is of course every year increasing.

In the neighbourhood of Greenville, we took a pleasant ride on horseback, to the top of the Piny Mountain, about three miles distant from the town, from whence the view is at once extensive and beautiful. It commands a full prospect of the Blue Ridge, one of the chains of the Alleghanies, which divides the Atlantic plains from those sloping down on the other side to the Mississippi, and embraces also the many pleasing objects of the nearer view, in the cleared patches of cultivated land, and pretty country mansions, with which the whole region in sight is thickly dotted. We were accompanied in this ride by two frank and intelligent gentlemen, who had plantations in the lower part of the State, but

who came here habitually every summer with their families to pass the hot months. From them we learnt that they had often hunted in this mountain, where the grey fox is very abundant; and from the zest with which they described the music of the hounds, the excitement of breaking cover, the enjoyment of the full cry, and the delight of being in at the death, I should say that fox-hunting is as well understood, as skilfully practised, and as completely enjoyed here, in the mountains of South Carolina, as in England. The manner in which they rode, and their healthy and vigorous appearance, showed the effects of such active equestrian exercises.

It is not long since that wolves were among the occupants of this and the adjoining mountains, and many have been hunted and shot here. They resemble the common wolf of Europe, especially in ferocity. So long as sheep, goats, deer, and hogs are sufficient to furnish them with prey, they do not attack men; but occasions have been known, in which, other food failing them, they have rushed in a large pack on a benighted traveller, dismounted him from his horse, and devoured both, to satisfy the cravings of their hunger. They gradually disappear, however, before increasing population, and are now confined almost entirely to the thick forests and unsettled mountains.

Rattlesnakes and other serpents are still found here in great numbers; and the rattle of a very large one, caught in this mountain, was presented to my son, for his collection. It is said that the snake is two years old before the first joint of its

rattle appears ; it then has one added to this in every succeeding year. The whole resembles the vertebræ of the spine, except that the several joints are more loosely knit together ; and the shaking of these bony or shelly joints, as the snake holds his tail erect in the air, constitutes the rattling noise which gives the creature its name. We were told that not long since, a snake-catcher from Virginia, who had learnt the art of taking the most venomous serpents without injury—like the ancient Psylli among the Libyans in the Gulf of Syrtis, and the modern charmers of serpents in Egypt—and that he had collected from this neighbourhood no less than 300 rattlesnakes, which he kept in cages, and fed with living rats, frogs, and other creatures. He stated that he had orders from different collectors in Europe for more than he could procure ; and that he sent them on by such opportunities as offered, in ships from the southern ports of America.

Within about twenty miles of Greenville, is a singular mountain, of which we heard a great deal, and which indeed I intended to have visited, but could not accomplish it without a greater delay than I could afford. I mention it, however, because it is described as an object well worthy the attention of travellers who have leisure to devote to a visit to it. From a level plain there rises, first, it is said, a rounded ridge of mountain, about 1,000 feet above the base ; and above this, and resting upon it, as I understood, is a huge mass of rock, standing up like a gigantic fortress, with perpendicular cliffs on two of its sides, rising to a height of 900 feet, the

summit being a perfect level, and hence it is called "Table Rock." There are described to be two modes of ascending it; one by a rude series of steps cut in one of the almost perpendicular faces, assisted here and there with wooden rails, and up this, the more adventurous scale the precipice: the other mode is by a spirally-winding and continually-ascending road that goes around the whole mass of rock, making the distance of the ascent by this mode, three miles; and this is the course which the more prudent take. But by all who visit it, it is spoken of as a great natural curiosity, and well worthy of examination.

Nearly all the planters and farmers of the interior are of the Democratic party in politics, that is, in opposition to the Federalists, Conservatives, or Whigs. The chief reason of this seems to be that they have not been so hampered in their operations of business, as the merchants of the cities have been by General Jackson and Mr Van Buren's measures respecting the currency, but have profited by the high prices of farming-produce, while bankruptcy and distress have been very general among the merchants; so that each class supports that party in politics whose measures they think most conducive to the promotion of their pecuniary interests. The majority of the inhabitants of the interior being Democrats, the newspapers of the interior, are for the same reason, chiefly advocates of democracy; and the political celebrations partake also of that character. The Greenville Mountaineer, of July 19, the last day of our stay there, contained a report of the Celebration of the great National Festival, the Declaration of American Independence, which,

as a specimen of the manner in which these celebrations are held in the country districts generally, may be interesting, though I content myself with a very brief selection from the numerous toasts, of which there were thirteen regular ones, and fifty-one volunteer toasts proposed by persons present, or sent by persons who were prevented from attending, it being the custom for absentees invited to forward a toast or sentiment as their representative. The following is the brief report.

“According to previous arrangements, the 4th of July, 1839, was celebrated at the house of Mr. Guilford Eaves, in the upper part of Greenville District. The assemblage was large, at least from 6 to 800 persons present. The services of the day commenced by conducting the Ladies to the stand, where they were seated. Then Mr. William Walker, Marshal of the day, formed the line of procession in the following order: Committee of Arrangements, Reader, Orator, Revolutionary Soldiers, and citizens generally, all preceded by Captain Fuller’s Rifle Company which was in prompt attendance, and in full and beautiful uniform. When near the stand, the Rifle Company formed in open ranks, through which the procession marched to the stand. A solemn and earnest prayer was addressed to the Throne of Grace, on behalf of our country and our beloved institutions, by the Rev. Jesse Senter. The Declaration of Independence was read by Mr. William A. Mooney, which was followed by an impressive and interesting Oration by Mr. Alfred W. Whitten. The company then repaired to the dinner-table, which was very lengthy, and set in a neat and inviting style, and was well spread and laden with the good and choice productions of our mountainous region, high over which waved in majestic style the Star-spangled Banner. After the company had dined, and the cloth was removed, the following Regular Toasts were read with great applause, followed by a salute from Captain Fuller’s Rifle Company.

Of the regular toasts of the day, the principal were, “The Day we celebrate,” “The Memory of

Washington." "The Union of the States." The President, the Navy, the Army, the Governor of the State, &c., but the last four of the number were these—

*"Our Brothers and Neighbours, the Texians.*

May Independence, freedom, and happiness be the settled and final result of their late struggle."

*"The Constitution of the United States.*

The noblest production of man. May its principles and features ever be maintained and supported."

*"The Farmers of the United States,*

The bone, the marrow, and of course the very stamina of the nation."

*"The American Fair,*

The fairest of the fair—the very centre and circumference of our earthly prospects and happiness."

Among the volunteer toasts, there were some remarkable ones, of which the following may be given as specimens—

*"The Mountain Boys.*

Whenever their country needs their aid  
To shoulder their guns they are not afraid."

*"Freedom of Conscience.*

May every man have religion enough of his own, to be willing not to meddle with that of his neighbours."

*"The State of South Carolina.*

May virtue sway, and wisdom guide,  
That we may in our Government confide."

*"The three best Generals:*

General Peace—General Plenty—and General Satisfaction."

*"The Sub-Treasury.*

A patent Bank, propelled by Administration Steam and Wind."

Our union is so strong, and it gives such gracious light,  
That it puts all Monarchy and Nullification to flight."



*" Our State Legislature.*

May they make such equal laws,  
That to complain we'll have no cause."

These are selected for their singularity of language and composition, as well as sentiment. The great majority of the toasts were, however, purely political, and bestowed the highest praise on General Jackson, Martin Van Buren, and the principles of Democracy, with the expression of a hope that before long, Republican Governments would supersede all others throughout the world. But the last toast reported in the list was an exception to this general admiration of Mr. Van Buren's policy; and is couched in the following quaint triplet, reminding one strongly of the doggerel rhyme in the versified Bible possessed by one of the Colleges of Glasgow—

*By W. T. Green.*

" Honour to the memory of Washington,  
Who for his country has fought;  
Defeat to Van Buren,  
Whose administration with inconsistencies is fraught;  
And a rope for his defaulters  
When they can be caught."

It is generally thought in Europe, that the women of America exercise very little influence in political affairs; and it is certainly true, that they themselves affect to be, and I think generally are, indifferent to what may be called party politics. Nor do they appear so openly to interfere with political matters as in England and France; still they are not, as is supposed, so wholly disregarded as not to be at least flattered and appealed to by political orators, and by the newspapers, whenever the occa-

sion presents itself for doing so with effect. Accordingly, the ladies are present at the celebrations of American Independence, as in the instance just reported; they are toasted at their political dinners, and they dance at the political balls. In the great struggle between the Nullifiers of South Carolina and the General Government of the United States, they took a very prominent part; and retain at the present day more of the enthusiastic feelings of that period than the men. In the same paper, from which the report of the Greenville Celebration is taken, there appears a striking instance of the flattery of females by political writers, to serve their purpose, in an extract from the "New Era," of the 3d of July, giving an account of the reception of Mr. Van Buren, the President, in his visit to New York. To understand this extract fully, it should be explained to the English reader, that the "Bowery" named in it, is a part of the city, which resembles Holborn or Tottenham-Court Road, in London, where shopkeepers and mechanics chiefly reside, and where the people of high fashion in New York are rarely or ever to be seen; while Broadway is like Regent-street, Oxford-street, or Ludgate Hill, the great general thoroughfare, in which the principal hotels, shops, boarding-houses, and fashionable stores of the city, are situated. The extract is curious also as a specimen of the inflated style of partisan panegyric, of which the newspapers of this country are so full. The following is a portion only of the extract, but sufficient for the purpose:—

"The reception of President Van Buren in this city yesterday, will be memorable to remote periods as a decisive test of repub-

ican intelligence, and a glorious display of popular patriotism. Morally sublime and impressive as was the enthusiasm exhibited on the visit of President Jackson to this city, yet even that great occasion presented a less unequivocal manifestation of popular discernment and sagacious republicanism, than did the events of yesterday. General Jackson's name and public services as a military chieftain, had long been embalmed in the fervent gratitude and veneration of his fellow-citizens; and this ever-spontaneous source of popularity was indissolubly adscititious to his political claims as an heroic champion of the incomparably great majority of the people of the Union, against the sinister, sordid, and odiously arrogant demands of small confederated classes.

“Mounting an exquisitely-beautiful and high-bred black horse, that had been presented to him for the occasion, and accompanied by Mayor Varian, and Gen. Wetmore, the Marshal-in-chief of the day, the President left the Castle, and reviewed this superb body of troops in column upon the Battery. His remarkably neat and graceful style of horsemanship attracted universal admiration, and surprised many who were not aware of his partiality for equestrian exercises. Wherever he rode, he was received with incessant and cordial cheers; and after a short delay, required for the regulation of the line of the procession, he advanced up Broadway. This spacious street, its pavements and sidewalks, windows and balconies, were closely thronged, and the view of the ascending ground from the Bowling Green was very magnificent. The apparently interminable concourse thence rolled on towards the Park, and, taking the direction of Park Row, passed the City Hall, by the Post Office, down Centre-street to Pearl, and thence to Chatham-street, Chatham-square, and the Bowery.

“In this more Democratic portion of the city, the mighty masses of the populace became truly astonishing. Not to speak of the streets and windows, the very roofs and parapets of the houses were crowded with shouting spectators. And here, too, it is but justice to the lovely female Democrats of New York, to say, was the most fascinating assemblage of beautiful faces and forms. Strangers to this city, who judge of the beauty of its females from brocaded Broadway, might be led to disparage it in comparison with other cities, if they have not gazed upon the

windows of the Bowery, on a public occasion like this. Neither Baltimore, nor Boston, nor Providence, nor Newport, nor that rich little garden of exquisite beauties, Trenton, in New Jersey, can transcend the matronly and maidenly loveliness of our Bowery and 'up town' women; and what is an admirable addition to their charms, they are most of them ardent and influential Democrats; and here they were by thousands, mingled with bright-haired children, waving their scarfs and 'kerchiefs in honour of the friend of those industrious vocations, by which their fathers, husbands, and lovers provide for them.'\*

No Englishman, however, could justly complain of this adulation, without, at the same time, censuring the still grosser flatteries, of which the English press is the vehicle, on similar occasions of

\* It is a melancholy contrast to such a picture as this, to find, in the same paper from which it is taken, the following paragraph from the "North American," of Philadelphia, showing to what scenes of vice and depravity the neighbourhood of "The Bowery" is subject; as, indeed, all who reside in New York know too well; but this seems closely treading in the steps of London and Edinburgh—where the horrid crime of burking was once so prevalent. Here is the statement:—

"A gentleman from New York informs us that a child, about five years of age, was seen to enter a house in Elizabeth-street, near the rear part of the Bowery Theatre, on Friday, about twelve o'clock. The mother of the child went in pursuit of it, and having been informed of the above fact, inquired at the house for it, but was denied entrance, and informed that the child was not there. After several attempts to gain some knowledge of the child, by various individuals, the officers of police were sent for, and on entering the house found the child *dead, and enclosed in a rough pine-box*. The inmates of the house were taken to the police office. The circumstance created great excitement in New York, as it was supposed that the child had been killed for the purpose of being sold for dissection. The persons arrested had not been examined when our informant left "

public men being followed by crowds to pay their homage. Nor could a Frenchman justly upbraid the Democrats of America for thus describing the triumphal progress of their Chief Magistrate, without making the Parisians equally the subject of his censures for their incense offered up to the Idol of the Day. This homage to men in power, because they *are* in power, and the flattery of their worshippers, because they bend the knee to Baal, is not confined to any age or nation, but seems to be universal, and is as prevalent in the most civilized nations as in the most barbarous.

Though the newspapers of the interior are chiefly democratic in their politics, they have one feature in common with their rivals or opponents, the Whigs ; which is, that their papers are not well supported by their party, nor punctually paid for, even by those who read them. It is therefore a rare thing to find a single number of any of these newspapers without a paragraph complaining of such insufficient support, of which I have already given several examples, but to which I will add one more from the "Greenville Mountaineer," of July 19. It is as follows :—

" '*I have the reading of it every week.*'—It not unfrequently occurs when persons are asked if they will subscribe to a newspaper, or if they already take it, that they reply, 'No, but neighbour B. takes it; and *I have the reading of it every week.*' Such often add, that they like the paper, and sometimes say, they consider it 'the best paper they know of.' They are *benefited every week* by the toils, perplexities, and expenditures of those *who receive nothing from them in return.*—Reader, if thou art the man, just send your name, and take the paper yourself."

As if this were not enough, there occurs in the same paper, in another page, the following short sentence, to show that punctual payment for newspapers is the rarest virtue known, if not the concentration of all excellencies. The editor, too, who prints it, is the postmaster of Greenville, holding office under the existing President, and defending his policy. But a man who pays for his newspapers stands higher in his estimation than all. Here is the paragraph—

“There’s a man down East who celebrates his birth-day by paying for all his newspapers. Let’s make him President.”

This difficulty of obtaining adequate support for the newspapers established, and the failure of readers to pay their bills, is the cause of such frequent changes of proprietors, and such consequent recklessness in the desperate adventurers who take up a newspaper for a short period, to secure some temporary purpose, and then abandon it to some equally reckless successor. The nonchalance with which this is often done, may be gathered from the following announcement taken from the same source, the Greenville Mountaineer, of July 19. It is this—

“The ‘editorial’ of the Marengo (Alabama) Gazette, of the 28th ult., is comprised in the following laconic valedictory :

“‘To the patrons of the Gazette—Dearly beloved, I have sold out and quit—good bye. Your’s ever, G. B. HAYDEN.’”

I met, in Greenville, with several Englishmen, settled here as mechanics, and all doing well. One was from Melton Mowbray, in Leicestershire, and was thoroughly conversant with the history of the principal hunters and sportsmen of his birth-place.

He had been at Bogota, in South America, for twelve months, of which he gave me a long and highly interesting account. The distance to it from the coast, by the river, was only 700 miles, yet they were three months performing the voyage in one of the ordinary boats of the country, the only way of making progress being by pushing the boat along with poles. He described the climate as delicious, being a perpetual spring, and the fruits and vegetables exquisite. There were upwards of 40,000 inhabitants, yet he thought there were not more than three or four houses in all the place, of more than one story high; and not a dozen that had glass windows. There were more than 2,000 priests in the city; and such was the general dissoluteness of manners, that scarcely a thousand persons of either sex were married, but lived in a state of openly illegitimate intercourse; and ignorance, poverty, and vice were the three chief characteristics of the society. He had been settled in Greenville for seven or eight years, and was doing well, and supporting comfortably a large family. Besides this, there were four English settlers; one from Woolwich, one from Portsmouth, and one from Southampton. The fourth was from Windsor, where he had been baker to the late king; but finding his bills not punctually paid in England, he had come out to seek for better fortunes under a republic, and had found them; for he was now getting rich, and had one of the prettiest gardens, hedged round in true English style, in the place. These English settlers were all, indeed, thriving, as any man possessing industry and sobriety can hardly fail to do in this country, which is thus so eligible a place of

emigration for the industrious and sober among the poor.

The time having arrived for our departure, I began to make arrangements for some conveyances by which we could accomplish our journey independently of the stage-coaches, as these travel by night as well as by day, and do not always stop at the best houses, besides arriving and departing at most inconvenient hours. We succeeded in negotiating for two carriages and pair, which were represented to us as sufficiently strong to carry our party and baggage thirty or forty miles a day, and for these we had agreed to pay ten dollars a day while journeying, and six dollars a day while halting, with the same price per day for the time necessary for the carriages' return. When the morning of our departure came, however, and the vehicles were brought to the door, they were found to be of weak construction, as well as nearly worn out, and were also open carriages, though we had stipulated for close ones, so as to be protected from rain.

As this was quite contrary to the terms of our agreement, I told the proprietor, who came with them, that I regretted to find they would not do; and it being the opinion of several gentlemen who saw them, that they would break down with ourselves and baggage at the first rough road, the owner seemed to assent to their withdrawal, and, accordingly, without a murmur or even a whisper of dissatisfaction, he ordered the drivers to take the carriages to the stables. I then engaged a four-horse stage for the journey, but, from the restricted circle of my choice, and the lateness of the time for making it, I had to



pay just double the former price. With this, however, I was content, but when the new stage was at the door, and the baggage putting on, I received, to my surprise, a visit from the town-constable, with a summons to pay the whole sum agreed for with the person whose carriages were unfit, or submit to arrest. This was done, no doubt, in the belief that I would rather pay twenty dollars, even unjustly, than be detained another day. I had twice experienced the same thing before, once at Washington City, for a sum of five dollars, and once at Mobile, for nineteen dollars, in both of which cases, the parties left it to the moment before my departure, and succeeded in exacting from me more than double the amount justly due to them, by this summary process of arrest; they well knowing that the loss of time necessary to attend a process of court, would be a greater evil than paying the whole sum at once, however unjust. I determined, however, in the present instance, to resist the unjust exaction, and submitted to the arrest. On stating the matter to some friends, I was accompanied by them to the sitting magistrate of the day, very much to the chagrin of the coach-proprietor, who had evidently expected the demand to be paid without submitting to the delay. When the facts were stated, the magistrate expressed his deep regret that such a transaction should have occurred, especially towards a stranger, and the evidence being quite sufficient to establish a non-fulfilment of contract, through the inefficiency of the carriages provided, the case was dismissed, it being left entirely to myself to offer, if I saw fit, any small consideration for the trouble of the ostlers and others engaged in

preparing the carriages for the journey. The exacting coach-owner was, therefore, disappointed of his expected gain, and I readily gave to the men employed what all deemed an ample remuneration. It is but justice to the character of the village to say, that the resident gentlemen here, to whom this transaction was known, were just as indignant at it as the magistrate. The person making this exaction was a Captain Ligon, the keeper of the rival hotel to that in which we boarded : and it was suspected that a wish to annoy his more fortunate competitor, entered largely into the motive which led him to press his unjust demand against me. But while I met with only three exacting and unjust editors of newspapers in the whole country, the editor of the *Morning Herald* in New York, of the *Advertiser* in Mobile, and of the *Bee* in New Orleans, out of more than 300 Journals in the different States in which I had occasion to advertise, and to pay at least twenty dollars on an average to each, the instances of fraud and over-reaching in persons connected with stage-coaches, horses, and carriages, were almost as numerous as the instances in which they behaved honourably and fairly, and the grossest of these impositions we certainly experienced in the South.

## CHAP. IX.

Journey to Flatrock — Turnpikes — Residence of Mr. Baring — Country-houses of the South — Beautiful scenery — Crossing the Blue Ridge — Rivers flowing westward to the Mississippi — Arrival at Asheville — French Broad River — Horses and mules — Primitive canoes — Warm Springs — Baths — Religion and gambling — Slave-breeding — Men selling their own offspring.

HAVING completed all our arrangements for the journey from hence to the Virginia Mountains, we left Greenville on the morning of Friday the 19th of July, in a stage-and-four, about nine o'clock, and pursued our way towards Flatrock, a distance of thirty-six miles, which it was thought a good day's journey to be able to reach by sunset.

Our road from hence to the commencement of the hills was through a fine and fertile country, well cultivated with corn and other grain, and the noble range of mountains called the Blue Ridge, which we were to ascend, improved in majesty and beauty as we drew nearer to it.

It was at a distance of twenty-four miles from Greenville, that we reached the house of Colonel Hodges, half inn and half farm-house, according to the custom of these parts ; the keepers of such houses being almost all dignified with military titles, as

captain, major, colonel, and even general, and in some instances, they are also judges. The former are purely militia titles, which when once enjoyed by ever so short a service, are continued through life. The latter is a title given to those who sit in the inferior as well as superior courts, who resemble our county and borough magistrates, and who are not necessarily members of the legal profession. Some of these hotel-keepers are, indeed, also practising physicians, as well as planters, and in this three-fold capacity they make speedy fortunes. As they give most of their attention to that which is most profitable, they occupy the greatest portion of their time in attending to the business of their plantation, and the increase of their live-stock—little negroes included—while their patients have but a very partial attendance; and the business of the inn is left mostly to the black servants to manage as they see fit, unless superintended, as they sometimes are, by a white mistress, the wife or sister of the planter; but in either case, the accommodations are dirty and comfortless, and the fare coarse in the extreme. Add to this, the manners of the whites and blacks are equally rude; and among all, there seems to be a determination to do just as much, or as little, as they see fit, and no more; so that they are generally the worse for urging, and, however unsatisfactory their provender may be to the guest, they both present it to him, and receive payment for it, with the air of persons who are conferring upon you a great favour, and laying you under strong obligation.

From this house, which occupies a romantically beautiful situation in one of the most lovely dells

imaginable, we began the ascent of a very steep mountain, the road winding in a serpentine form up its sides, and being extremely difficult for the horses. All the way over this hill, the road wound through thick forests, with deep hollows or glens, occasional water-falls, and splendid forest-trees ; besides innumerable bushes of the rhododendron and kalmia, to the extent of hundreds in view at one time, and both agreeably diversified with the weeping willow, the oleander, and the wild vine, with large and promising clusters of forest-grapes advancing towards perfection, covering some of the smaller trees entirely, and hanging in many tresses from branch to branch of others.

Near the top of the mountain, we came to the third turnpike we had met with in the South, where the toll was one dollar and fifty cents, or six shillings English, for a four-horse coach ; and about five miles further on, we met a second turnpike, where the toll was one dollar. The former of these was in the State of South Carolina, the second in the State of North Carolina, the immediate crest of this mountain dividing the two, at a distance of twenty-seven miles from Greenville in the former, and thirty-three miles from Asheville in the latter. A small erect slab of stone, standing on the crest of the mountain, marked the division ; and from this point the mountain view was extensive, varied, and beautiful in a high degree.

From a little beyond the second turnpike, the road descended gradually, and was everywhere good ; it wound most agreeably through lofty hedges of trees and shrubs, with frequent openings of cleared

and cultivated land, and at sunset it brought us to a pretty valley, in which a large new hotel was nearly completed, about two miles beyond which, we reached Flatrock, a single house, without a village, kept by Colonel Young, and here we alighted for the night.

There were about fifty persons staying at this house, some for health, and some for pleasure, and these were said to include members of the first families in Carolina. Yet the place appeared to us to possess no one attraction, but that of climate ; which could be enjoyed in as great perfection any where throughout this range, at an equal elevation, the height being about 2,000 feet above the level of the sea, and the thermometer not usually ascending beyond 85°. The bed-rooms were dark and dingy, the bedding coarse and dirty ; no wash-stands, dressing-tables, mats, or carpets ; broken looking-glasses, tallow candles, brass and tin candlesticks, and filthy negro servants ; these were the accommodations that awaited the traveller. The dining-room was not more than eight feet high, with a whitewashed wooden ceiling, blackened with the ascending smoke of candles ; it was like a badly built soldiers' barracks ; and the fare was like that of nearly all the country inns, coarse, greasy, tough, badly dressed, and cold. In short, the whole establishment was forbidding and comfortless in an unusual degree ; yet here many families of opulence, and especially ladies, passed several months in the summer ; were anxious to get here, and always sorry when the time came to go away.

I had often been at a loss to account for the

eagerness with which such places are visited year after year by the same persons, when all the charms of novelty are gone ; but I had heard, lately, from native authority, a solution which seemed more probable than any I could offer to my own mind. It was this : that as marriages in the South are contracted so early in life as to lead to frequent subsequent regret in one or both of the parties, and as they are not so often contracted from love as from considerations of fortune and connections, home becomes wearisome, tedious, and monotonous ; and anything which offers the relief of change is acceptable to both, but especially to the ladies. The husbands have business to occupy and divert them. The wives have neither the superintendence of household duties, which engage so much of an English lady's time ; nor the training of their children, which, like household affairs, is chiefly confined to negroes here ; and having little or no enthusiasm of character, or passion for any intellectual pursuit, such as literature, science, music, or drawing, their resources of entertainment soon dry up, and they are happy to go abroad in quest of the novelty and excitement which they fail to find at home. Thus they visit these springs and watering-places, where, as a gentleman truly observed to me, they do not "kill time," for that implies a battle with the enemy, or at least an active struggle, by energetic and lively amusement of some kind or other—but where they rather "lose time" in so complete a manner, by listlessness and trifling, that they are unable to give any account to themselves or

others what has become of this, to them the most worthless of all possessions—since their great aim is to devise new modes to get rid of it.

After a disagreeable night, partly passed in hunting those enemies to sleep, which infest nearly all the wooden houses of the South, and which seem to be as great a torment to the people of the up-country, as the mosquitos are to those of the low, we left Flatrock at nine in the morning of the 20th of July. About a mile beyond it, we passed a very pretty country-seat, the summer residence of Mr. Charles Baring, a cousin, as I understood, of the present Lord Ashburton, and whose lady is sister, as I was also told, of the Countess of Berkeley. Mr. Baring has large plantations of cotton and rice, near the sea-coast, not far from Charleston; and while he passes his winters on these, he spends his summers here; the county of Buncombe in North Carolina, in which his seat is placed, being esteemed the most healthy and beautiful portion of all the Southern country, which I can readily believe, from all that I have yet seen of it. The house and grounds have a pleasing appearance from the road, and the park-paling and shrubbery, the little lake and sloping lawn, the white sheep, and winding pathway from the gates to the dwelling, reminded us more of England than anything we had seen in America; and those who have visited the interior of Mr. Baring's establishment, speak of it as perfect and beautiful in all its details.

The Americans, while they admire, do not, however, imitate him; and although, at first sight, one would think that the splendid and truly English



mansion and grounds of Mr. Greig, at Canandaigua in the State of New York, and the equally admired house and park of Mr. Baring here, would lead to the imitation of both, by at least the more opulent of their neighbours, no such results have followed yet ; from which one is compelled to infer, either that the Americans have not a sufficiently strong perception of architectural and rural beauty, to become really enamoured of it, or that they love their money too well to spend it in such unproductive outlays.

Beyond Mr. Baring's, the road continued good nearly all the way ; and was rendered beautiful by being thickly lined on both sides with innumerable bushes covered with wild roses, in full flower and of delicious odour. The country seemed more thickly peopled also ; but though there were some few decent houses, the greatest number of them were miserable-looking dwellings, rude and dirty without, and bare and comfortless within ; the broken panes of glass being more numerous than those that were whole, and everything bespeaking the indolence and dirty habits of the occupants. Industry, in the sense in which we understand that term, as implying a love of active bodily exertion, is rarely seen among the white inhabitants of the South. They are always ready for a talk, a bargain, or a speculation, by which, without much bodily effort, they may make money ; but hard work is certainly much more distasteful to them than to the same class of persons in England. In every farm-house you pass here, you see eight or ten lazy men and boys lounging idly in the veranda or piazza, in front of it, with their legs thrown up higher than their hips, their hats on, doing nothing,

because the negro slaves can do the work ; and what they do, though done badly, contents them. The white women are seen at the same time in groups of five or six at another part of the house, rocking in their chairs, with their loose cotton bonnets and deep hind-curtains hanging over their shoulders, wasting their time in the merest gossiping ; their clothes dirty, their hair loose, and their whole persons most untidy ; the children without shoes or stockings, filthy apparel, uncombed silvery hair, and unwashed pale faces ; because the negresses do the household work, and look after the children ; and what they do not do, is left undone, for the mothers seem to make no effort to assist them. The slave-system is, no doubt, one powerful cause of this general indolence and dirtiness of the whites, among the farmers and peasantry of the South ; but we thought perpetually, that if an English farmer and his wife, with their sons and daughters, could be suddenly transported to some of these farm-houses, and told they were to be their homes, they would so change the face of things in a month, by their industry, cleanliness, and order, that the original occupants would hardly know them again in their improved dress ; the English farm-houses, in general, being as superior to those of this part of America in cleanliness and comfort, as Mr. Baring's or Mr. Greig's beautiful dwellings are, to those of persons of similar wealth, but less love of order, and less taste, by whom they are surrounded.

That the whites are quite able to sustain labour, in this climate of the hills especially, no one presumes to deny ; indeed, we had good proof of this in our

journey to-day, where we passed a large party of forty or fifty white men engaged in the laborious operation of ditching and draining, on both sides of the road. These were mostly emigrants from Ireland and Germany; they bore the labour well, and would have borne it much better, but for the habit of drinking spirits, which habit they bring with them from their own country, and too often retain in this.

As we proceeded on a descending road, the scenery became more and more beautiful. The blue mist floated on the summits of the distant ridges still beyond us to the northward, many of their summits being quite enveloped in clouds. The several successive ranges of inferior hills lying between us and the more remote mountains, gave also a beautiful variety of hues, while the alternation of sun and cloud, threw over the whole landscape such a constantly varying succession of tints, from the deepest to the brightest, that the whole formed a picture of exquisite loveliness. As we drew near to Asheville, indeed, the scenery became so romantically beautiful, that we thought it much finer than anything we had seen in Derbyshire, Shropshire, or Devonshire, which its undulated surface made it most resemble; but it wanted the charm of those neat little cottages, sweet flower-gardens, village spires, and green fields with hawthorn hedges, which make England so enchanting in all its rural features.

Though there were still lofty hills before us, yet as we had passed the Blue Ridge in coming from South to North Carolina, the mountain-streams now began to flow westward towards the Tennessee and Mississippi, instead of eastward to the Atlantic, of

which we had several evidences in our way. The roads on the whole were good, though there were several places in which they had been repaired with trunks of trees laid across, forming the well-known "corduroy road" of the country. The miles were indicated on wooden mile-posts, a very rare occurrence in the South, and the rate at which we travelled was about four miles an hour, so that we reached Asheville, a distance of twenty-five miles from Flatrock, in six hours, arriving about three o'clock. Our fare was twenty dollars, or nearly 3s. 2d. per mile, for a coach and four horses.

We found a much better hotel at Asheville than the one we had left at Flatrock ; and were comfortably accommodated with good rooms and good fare. We passed the evening with some very agreeable company, who had come here from the sea-coast for health and pleasure ; these were chiefly ladies, there being about fifty persons in the house, of whom not more than ten were gentlemen. Our pleasure was somewhat marred, however, by a disagreeable discovery, just as we were about to retire to rest. An alarm of fire was given ; and on going up stairs into the part of the house from whence the smoke came, a bed was found to be in flames, which, by grasping and pressing, and throwing such water as was at hand upon it, was happily extinguished. The most painful part of the discovery, was the evident proof of its being kindled intentionally ; for, on the bed which had taken fire, was a large piece of brown paper saturated with melted grease, by which the fire had been evidently kindled ; and under the bed, on the floor, was a small pool of the same material,

apparently intended to give fresh fuel to the flame when once ignited. It was an unoccupied room, no candle had been known to be placed there, and the opinion seemed to be, that it was the work of some dissatisfied or vindictive negro, but it was not deemed safe to push the inquiry further ; such is the restraint placed on the punishment of crime by the fearful system of slavery.

Asheville is a small village, containing a brick Court-house, a wood-built Methodist Church, in which there is only occasional services, two hotels, and about twenty stores and dwelling-houses, with a population of 200 persons, of whom not more than 120 are whites. The situation of the village is beautiful ; and from a rising at the back of the hotel, and beyond the garden of the house, is one of the most exquisite panoramic views imaginable ; encircled by ranges of mountains of varied heights and distances, with swelling slopes and delicious valleys, such as one might travel a thousand miles without finding surpassed in beauty.

We left Asheville about eight o'clock on the morning of July 21, in a fine roomy stage, designed for nine inside passengers, and occupied only by five. About a mile after quitting the village, we came on the banks of a river called "The French Broad," the etymology of which no one here seemed to know. It lay on the left-hand of our road, which ran close along its edge ; it was full of rocks, and so extremely shallow that it resembled a continued series of rapids, with here and there a deeper and more tranquil part for a few yards only ; and this again speedily succeeded by rocks and rapids, as

before. The breadth of the stream was from 200 to 300 feet; the water was beautifully clear, and in many parts it reminded me of the rapids of the Nile, at what is called the Second Cataract, the first great interruption to the full and unbroken flow of the stream, south of the island of Philœ, or the Cataracts of Syene. As we passed along its banks, we observed a ferry, at which persons drew themselves across by a cord, in a slender canoe, and horses and carriages forded the stream a little below. The wood that lined the upland slopes on either bank, was beautifully rich and varied; and all along our path, the way was fringed with the azalia, the rhododendron, and the kalmia, in countless numbers, intermingled occasionally with the wild rose and other flowering shrubs.

On our way we met a small caravan, as it might be termed, of fine horses, and beautiful mules, conducted by two drovers, one of whom rode in advance, the other in the rear; and the cattle were driven like sheep, without halter, bridle, or other fastening, between the two. These were all proceeding, to the number of about a hundred, from Kentucky and Ohio to South Carolina and Georgia for sale; and some idea may be formed of the extent of this traffic, when it is not mentioned that not less than 10,000 horses and mules, from these middle or western States come down every year for sale to the purchasers in the Atlantic States, and the cities of the coast, as many as 500 at a time frequently passing through Greenville in a single day. The horses were quite as fine as ordinary horses seen at fairs and markets in England; but the mules were by far the most

beautiful I had ever seen, surpassing even the finest of those in Spain and Portugal.

At some portions of the way we ascended the steep bank of the river, going inland, and leaving the stream on our left, but we soon returned to it again; and generally speaking our route lay close along its edge. Across one part of the river was a good bridge built on piles, and opposite to it a large and substantial house. The road itself was very rocky and uneven, so that travelling over it was as fatiguing as over the corduroy roads, and nothing but the strong coaches used here could long endure such violent shocks as our vehicle continually received; but the scenery made us ample amends for all inconveniences. In many places the breadth of the valley through which the river flowed was not more than 300 feet, the stream itself occupying in some places less than 100 feet. On each side rose steep precipitous hills, to a height of 300 and 400 feet from their base, clothed with thick wood to their very summits, and showing on their sides large masses of rock overgrown with shrubbery, and studded with flowers. Sometimes our path along the river's edge was overhung with a perpendicular cliff of more than 100 feet in height, so close to the stream, that while on our left we could almost drop a stone into the water from the carriage window on *that* side, we could put out our hands and touch the rock of the perpendicular cliff on the other.

In general the whole of the river's bed was thickly studded with rocks, rising high above the surface, which made it a continued series of rapids;

but there were partial intervals in which these disappeared, and in these the water seemed to form a beautifully tranquil lake, of which we could apparently see the two extremes. The serpentine windings of the valley, by which opposing promontories projected each beyond the other, made such spots perfectly landlocked, so that you could see neither the place of entrance nor the place of exit for the river. Over the rocky bed, persons could easily ford the stream, by leaping from rock to rock ; but in these tranquil spots, the river was crossed by canoes, of which we saw several in use, and others half prepared in the woods. They are the most primitive kind of boats that were ever used, being the long and straight trunk of some large tree, with about one-third of its diameter sawn or hewn down by the axe lengthwise, to form the upper part of the canoe. The rounded or untrimmed portion of the trunk makes its bottom, and the block is then hollowed out, so as to enable one man to sit down in its breadth, and as many others before and behind him as its length will admit. While so seated, the use of short paddles, or even the palms of the hands, is sufficient to propel the canoe across. They are called here by the inelegant yet appropriate name of a "dug-out," from the fact of their being nothing more than the trunk of a tree dug or hollowed out in the way described.

Amongst the trees which overhung the streams, bending towards it as if in homage, were many beautiful cedars, whose dark fringe-like foliage contrasted finely with the lighter tints of the weeping willow, that hung gracefully over the river. These trees are



of the same species as that which overshadows the grave of Napoleon at St. Helena, a branch of which we had obtained from a tree in the Botanical Garden at Athens, in Georgia, which was grown from a slip brought from that island by an officer of the American navy. Here, also, were trees with thick clusters of the beautiful scarlet trumpet-flower, full blown, in which the humming bird delights to seek his provender. To the right of our road we frequently saw huge trees, without an inch of soil to support them, their large roots clasping great masses of rock, and their smaller branches insinuating themselves into crevices, and holding fast by twisting their ends through and round the smaller stones. Immense masses of detached rock, weighing several thousand tons each, were seen hurled from their contact with the cliffs above, and hanging midway on the shelving slope, seeming to threaten a fall with the slightest disturbance of their frail and loose foundation. In some places, the rocks in the bed of the river became so high and so numerous, that the whole of the stream was contracted into one very narrow central channel, and forced through the passage between two overhanging masses of rock, allowing just breadth enough for a single canoe to pass, and with a rapid descent beyond it resembling the spot described as that in which Mungo Park met his lamented death on the river Niger, in Africa. Altogether the scene was one of romantic beauty, and full of the most interesting associations ; and neither the Valley of the Mohawk in the North, nor of the Wye in Monmouthshire, appeared to me so nobly picturesque, as this Valley of the French Broad, in North Carolina.

About nineteen miles from Asheville, and a little more than half way between it and the Warm Springs, we halted at an excellent house, kept by a colonel ; but much superior to most of those on the road, in its cleanliness and general order. It was romantically situated in a part where the river was about 200 feet broad, with a towering wood-clothed hill rising in front of it on the other side of the stream, to a height of nearly 300 feet ; and a fine steep wooded hill behind it also. We took an early dinner here at 12 o'clock, and proceeded on our way, over a road similar in all respects to the former, except that we saw the purple sumach in full flower, as well as the crimson ; that the rhodedendrons were even more abundant than ever, and many with their flowers still remaining, though June is the month in which they are in the greatest perfection. Blackberries were also abundant ; the unripe of the brightest scarlet, and the ripe a jet glossy black, each on the same branches. The leaves of the sumach had also begun thus early to receive their autumnal tints ; some leaves of the brightest green, and others as if steeped in carmine, or vermilion, being seen on the same branch, and giving to the foliage the most gorgeous appearance.

The rock appeared to be chiefly limestone, with veins of quartz ; and where small patches of soil existed near the banks of the stream, these were cultivated with corn, which grew luxuriantly, and promised an ample crop. The dwellings attached to these cultivated slips were, however, very mean and dirty. As we drew near the end of our journey, the river appeared to divide its stream more frequently,

and to wind round several large and well-wooded islands in its way, when, about five o'clock, we reached the hotel at the Warm Springs, and halted for the night.

We were detained here for three days, as no private conveyances could be had, and the public stage passes only three times a week. We did not regret our detention, however, as we were all sufficiently fatigued to make rest extremely agreeable. The warm spring, which gives its name to this spot, rises on the left bank of the river, within a few yards of its edge, bubbling up through the rocky and gravelly bed, and preserving a uniform temperature of about 95°. A building has been erected over it, so as to enclose the water in two swimming-baths, of about twenty feet square, and four feet in depth. These are divided from each other by a wooden partition, and each has a separate entrance, one being devoted to the use of the gentlemen, and the other to the ladies. The water is beautifully clear, but very slightly mineral, and is altogether most agreeable to bathe in; but nothing can be conceived more rude and inconvenient than all the auxiliaries of the bath. The dressing-rooms, so called, have neither mat, couch, nor table; nothing, in short, but the bare wooden walls and floor, and one straw-bottom chair. The negro attendant brings the bather a single towel on his leaving the water, but nothing else; so that those accustomed to the well-furnished baths of London and Paris, but especially those who had ever enjoyed the luxurious baths of Cairo, Aleppo, Damascus, or Bagdad, would think this the lowest in the scale of comfort. Yet, the visitors here, the

greater number of whom have never seen anything better, think this excellent; and except for the purpose of stimulating them to improvement, it might be thought a pity to disturb them in their present contentment; for in this sense, if in any, the language of the poet may be true—

“Where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise.”

One principal cause of the imperfect accommodation and bad fare met with in this country, is the absence of complaint on the part of those who partake of it. The keepers of such public establishments rarely or ever hear any one speak at all either in praise or censure of what is presented to them, but seeing that all is received with composure and every appearance of content, they infer that all is perfect, and that there is either no room for improvement, or at least no necessity to incur expense for that purpose, as everybody is satisfied with things as they are.

The establishment here, is most romantically situated, though it has not the climate of the Flatrock, or the accommodations of the Asheville hotel. Being only 1,200 feet above the level of the sea, while Flatrock is 2,000—and being, moreover, hemmed in a close valley, and heated by the constantly ascending vapour of the warm spring—the thermometer is usually 8° or 10° higher here than at Flatrock on the same days. The first hotel built here was consumed by fire, at the close of the last season, when about fifty guests were in it, the greater number of whom lost all their baggage, as the fire was not discovered till some time after it had broken out, and, like the Planters' Hotel at Augusta, being wholly built of

wood, it was in a few hours entirely destroyed. The owner had not insured either his house or furniture, so that his loss was very severe. The actual cause of the fire was never distinctly ascertained ; but either the carelessness, or intentional malevolence of the negroes, was the cause suspected and assigned.

The present building has a front of 220 feet, with a portico of thirteen plain columns, about three feet in diameter and thirty feet in height, making a noble piazza of sixteen feet in breadth, and nearly the same size, therefore, as the portico of the Congress-Hall Hotel at Saratoga, but not of so imposing an aspect. It has a lofty hall, capable of dining 500 persons, and a number of bed-rooms of all sizes ; but there is the usual deficiency in those interior comforts which constitute the excellence of our English inns.

In addition to the hotel, there are a number of small brick cabins, with rooms not more than eight or ten feet square, for invalids requiring easy access to the Warm Spring, and these are more comfortless than the large house ; so much so, indeed, as to render it probable that all the benefit of bathing in the waters must be more than counteracted by the privations and discomfort of the lodgings.

The company here consisted of fifty persons, of whom one half appeared to be invalids, coming for the benefit of the Warm Spring ; the rest were travellers *en route*, or persons staying here for pleasure. In the full season, at the end of August, the numbers vary between 400 and 500. The amusements are very limited, and time seems to hang heavily on the hands of all. In the bar-room of the hotel, we saw persons playing at cards at ten o'clock

in the morning, surrounded by others who were drinking spirits and water, and betting on the game. In this respect, there is the same inconsistency observable in the American people, as in their affectation of extraordinary delicacy ; for while they make professions of great piety, have public prayers, and say long graces over their meals, they, at the same time, often indulge in practices that in most other countries would be thought wholly inconsistent with the profession of religion. A ludicrous public illustration of this truth, was given in the announcement of a new hotel, published in the last number of the "Greenville Mountaineer," of July 19th, from which I have before drawn so copiously, but I prefer the evidence of such public documents, to a mere statement of my own, because they must remove all doubt from the mind of the reader, and be received as good evidence even by the people of America themselves, who are apt to think that all foreign travellers unjustly disparage and unfairly misrepresent them, on points like these, unless fortified by evidence of the most irrefragable description. The announcement to which I refer, is that of a new hotel at the Limestone Springs, in the Spartanburgh district of South Carolina, about fifty miles from Greenville. Besides an enumeration of its mineral and scenic attractions, two others of a political and moral kind are presented ; the first, that by travelling this way, instead of to the Northern States, the feeling of *patriotism* may be gratified—and what, though not expressed, is no doubt also implied, all danger of contamination from Abolition-principles avoided—and the second, that all *gambling* is to be eschewed,

and religious services provided for the *pious* visitors. But I give it in the language of the advertisement, which, after enumerating the chief attractions of the place, proceeds to say—

“These are some of the inducements which are presented to the public, to favour the Limestone Springs with their patronage. When it is remembered that this establishment owes its foundation to the liberality and patriotism of many gentlemen, who have advanced large sums of money for the purpose of presenting to the people of South Carolina and Georgia, a place of health and relaxation almost at their own doors, it is to be hoped that it will not languish, decline, and die for the want of patronage. The thousands expended in Northern travelling may be saved, and the people of the seaboard and the mountains may enjoy all the mutual benefit of travel and intercourse.”

Next to this appeal to the patriotism of Southern travellers, comes the assurance to the religious portion of the community that their feelings shall be consulted, and their devotions provided for. It is thus couched—

“To the religious public, the undersigned would say, that gaming, and all such gross irregularities as would be offensive to them, are prohibited at this establishment. Arrangements are in progress for having divine service on every Sabbath, which we hope and believe will be successful. Persons can be as private, secluded, and retired as they please.”

If the announcement had ended here, there would have been no cause of complaint; but lest the man of pleasure should be deterred from visiting these Springs from a disrelish of this austerity of manners, a bait is thrown in to catch him also. It would not do, of course, to present this bait in too close juxtaposition to the portion just quoted; so, after three other intervening paragraphs about dyspeptics, mine-

ral productions, arrivals and departures of stages to and from places in the neighbourhood, the following closes the whole :—

“To sportsmen, it may be some inducement to know, that we have one of the most beautiful race-tracks in the State, where there will be a number of horses in training from the first of July, until the commencement of the races on the first Tuesday in October.”

Now, besides that horse-racing in every country admits of as much betting and gambling as any other class of public amusements, the very term “sportsmen,” in this country, means “gamblers;” and not, as with us, persons fond of hunting and shooting, merely. The “black-legs” of Newmarket would be called “sportsmen” here; and this is the term by which the “gamblers” of New Orleans, who make that city their haunt in winter, and spread themselves over the watering-places in the summer, are always known; so that “patriotism” versus “abolition,” and “piety” hand in hand with “gambling,” would all be duly patronized at the Limestone Springs!

While at the hotel here, we were much struck with the appearance of a little girl of ten years of age, who was sweeping the rooms; her features were African, her complexion yellowish brown, and her hair almost flaxen, in long locks, though curly. We asked her where she was born. She answered—in Virginia. We inquired where her mother was. She pointed to a negress in the passage, perfectly black. We asked this woman, who was the child’s father? She replied—her former master, now living in Virginia. We inquired why she had left him. She



answered, that her master had sold both herself and her child (his own offspring) to her present owner, the keeper of the hotel; for all children born of slave mothers, though begotten by free fathers, are slaves also. By so much, therefore, as a white slave-owner can increase the number of his own progeny, by the black females, with whom he may lawfully cohabit as his slaves, since “he may do what he will with his own;” by so much he increases his own wealth by selling his own children! This is constantly denied by those who are ashamed of this blot upon their country’s honour: but the instances we have met with, in which the direct, unpremeditated, and disinterested testimony of the mothers, could leave no doubt on the subject—and the many other instances, in which we have seen the strongest resemblance in the mulatto-children running about the house, and rearing for the market, to the white master and father to whom they owed their being—convinced me that the practice, instead of being rare, is unhappily very general!

## CHAP. IX.\*

History of the State of North Carolina—Charter of Charles the Second—Principal events—Insurrection of the “Regulators” against the lawyers—Progressive increase of population, free and slaves—Extent of area and boundaries of the State—Excursion beyond the mountains, by Finlay and Boone—Mineral wealth—Iron mines—The Gold Region—Commerce—Sea-ports—Canals—Railroads—Chief towns—Raleigh—The new State-house—Literary fund—Legislature—Judiciary—University—Academy—Religious bodies.

WE had now traversed a portion of North Carolina, which comprehended nearly the whole breadth of its south-western angle, between South Carolina and Tennessee; and certainly, a more beautiful portion of the earth's surface, it had rarely fallen to our lot to examine and admire. As it was the first, and will probably be the last occasion of our visiting this State, some account of its general extent and peculiarities may here be fitly introduced.

It was in North Carolina that the first attempt to colonize on the continent of North America was made by the English; though at that period the whole of the territory was called Florida by the French, and Virginia by the English; and it was therefore included in the first patent granted by Queen Elizabeth to Sir Walter Raleigh in 1584.

About two years after this, a small number of settlers came out from England, under the auspices of Raleigh; but they were thought to have been destroyed by the Indians, as they left no trace of themselves or their descendants. It was not until 1650 that some emigrants from the Chesapeake came down here, and formed the first permanent settlement of the whites. In 1661, these were joined by a small body of colonists from Massachusetts, who settled themselves near the river of Cape Fear; being mostly Quakers, who had been expelled by the intolerant Puritans from the New England States. In 1663, Sir William Berkley, then Governor of Virginia, granted a tract of land, including 3,350 acres, on the north side of Roanoake, now Albemarle, to George Cathmaid, for the transportation of sixty-seven persons to settle there; and this is said to be the oldest land-title in the State. In the same year, Charles the Second granted to Lord Clarendon, the Duke of Albemarle, the Earl of Craven, Lord Berkeley, Lord Ashley, Sir George Carteret, Sir John Colleton, and Sir William Berkeley, all the country lying between the parallels of 31° and 36° of north latitude, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean! The territory was to be called Carolina, in honour of the King, and the persons named above were to be the called Lords Proprietors. Sir William Berkeley, then in Virginia, was ordered to visit the settlement at Albemarle, and organize a regular government; which he did, appointing George Drummond as the first governor, and a council of six to assist him.

In 1665 a second charter was granted by Charles, enlarging the powers of the Lords Proprietors, and

extending the southern boundary of the province from 36° 30' N., the edge of Virginia, to 29° N., the extremity of Florida ; so that the area of Carolina, within these boundaries, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, embraced more than a million of square miles, equal to one-half of all the territory now forming the whole of the United States!—including all the space at present occupied by North and South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Arkansas, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, all Texas, and a large portion of Mexico, as well as the lands west of the Rocky Mountains! Such was the power assumed and exercised by the sovereigns of Europe, to give away the territories of other nations to a few of their own favourites!

In 1666 the first legislative body of Carolina was convened. This was composed of twelve delegates, chosen by the freeholders, as a house of representatives; twelve councillors, six chosen by the delegates, and six by the governor; and the governor himself, who was appointed by the Lords Proprietors. This was called “The Grand Assembly of Albemarle.”

It was in 1669 that the famous Code drawn up by Locke, the author of the “Essay on the Human Understanding,” was introduced for the government of this province; but of this a full account is given in the historical sketch of South Carolina. The division between the two Carolinas into North and South, was made in 1697; and in 1729 the Lords Proprietors surrendered their government to the crown, when it became a royal colony.

Of the principal historical events, the following

are worthy of mention in chronological order. We find that in 1672 the celebrated George Fox visited this colony, and organized the first religious association here. In 1700 the first Episcopal missionary arrived; and in 1704 the Church of England was established by law, as the State religion of the province. In 1711 there was a great massacre of the whites by the Indians. In 1713, the first issue of paper-money, or bills of credit, took place. In 1715, the first revision of the statute-law was made; and its publication was by means of twelve manuscript copies circulated, there being no printing-press then in the colony. In 1723, the first court-houses were erected. In 1728, the first road was made from Newbern to Bath. In 1745, the first post-route was established, from Suffolk in Virginia to Wilmington in North Carolina, the post to go once in every two weeks! In 1742, the first printing-office was introduced by James Davis of Newbern. In 1752, the first book was printed, being "Swan's Revisal of the Laws." In 1764, the first newspaper was issued, called "The North Carolina Magazine, or Universal Intelligencer." In 1775, the Royal Government was abdicated by Governor Martin, in consequence of the Revolution; and in 1776, the Declaration of Independence was made.

About the same period as that of the revolutionary war against the mother-country, an insurrection took place in the western counties of the province among some persons who called themselves "Regulators" and who professed to be aggrieved by the oppressions of the lawyers, and abuses in the administration of justice. The only remedy for this

they declared to be the “complete destruction of the whole race of legal functionaries and practitioners!” They organized a body of 1,500 men, with this avowed view; but the Governor, Tryon, with 1,000 militia, marched against them, and a battle ensuing, the “Regulators” were entirely defeated, 300 of them being killed, and the rest suing for mercy.

Since the termination of the revolutionary war, and the incorporation of North Carolina as one of the thirteen original States of the Union, its history has been barren of interesting events; and having no great sea-port, neither its population nor commerce has increased in the same ratio with many other of the States. Still, the increase of the former has been considerable, as will be seen by the following table—

In 1701	it was	5,000	In 1800	it was	478,103
1729	. . .	10,000	1810	. . .	555,500
1749	. . .	45,000	1820	. . .	638,829
1763	. . .	95,000	1830	. . .	738,470
1790	. . .	393,951	Present estimate		850,000

Since 1790, the slaves have increased from 100,571, to 245,601, which was the number given by the census of 1830; and they are not believed to be in greater numbers now than then; as the surplus occasioned by natural increase of numbers is fully balanced by the sales which take place of negroes for the south-western States, which furnishes a profitable market.

In size, the State of North Carolina is about one-third larger than that of South Carolina. In length from east to west it is 362 miles; and in breadth from north to south 121 miles; it has therefore an

area of 43,800 square miles, or 28,032,000 of acres, while South Carolina has only 30,000 square miles or 19,251,200 of acres. Both taken together are quite as large as all England and Scotland united, being collectively 73,800 square miles in area ; while Great Britain and Ireland are only 88,357 square miles.

Its boundaries are: on the north, Virginia, on the south, South Carolina ; on the east, the Atlantic Ocean ; and on the west, Tennessee. There are great diversities of soil and climate within these boundaries. From the sea-coast to about 60 miles inland, the country is level, and the climate warm, and there cotton is grown in great abundance. There are many inlets and swamps near the sea, which make those parts unhealthy in summer and autumn, but the climate is delightful in winter. In the middle section of the State, the surface is hilly, but fertile ; and grain of all kinds, with flax, tobacco, and fruits, find a congenial soil and climate. The western portion is mountainous, and, as has been seen by our journey across the Blue Ridge, presents beautiful scenery, a delightful temperature, and a rich variety of productions. This portion of the country was, however, but of comparatively recent discovery ; as it was in 1767, not long before the independence of the United States was proclaimed, that a person named Finlay went from the banks of the Yadkin river, west of the Blue Ridge, and after a long absence from his family, by whom he was given up as lost, he came back, and gave so glowing an account of the richness and beauty of the country beyond the mountains, that others were induced to join

him in a second excursion there. Among these was the celebrated prince "of backwoods-men," Daniel Boone, whose exploits are as much matter of popular tradition in this country as those of Robin Hood and his foresters in England. From this time onward, the more restless and adventurous among the settlers followed the example of Finlay and Boone, and with a few blankets for tents and bedding, rifles and ammunition for defence, and dogs to assist them in hunting for deer, they went off beyond the mountains, and wandered farther and farther west, as new temptations presented themselves.

The mineral wealth of North Carolina is considerable. Iron ore is found in the mountains in great abundance ; and several large establishments for smelting and working iron exist. The gold region, however, attracts the greatest attention. It embraces the river Yadkin and its branches, and extends over a territory of about 1,000 square miles. The gold is sometimes found in the state of ore, near the surface. This is purified and smelted ; quicksilver being used for separating the pure gold from the dross. It is sometimes also found in minute particles of pure gold, among the sands and soil in the beds of streams, and is then obtained by washing it. In some instances it is found in large lumps, from one to two pounds weight. Lumps worth from 200 dollars to 1,000 dollars are often found ; and on one occasion a mass of pure gold, worth 8,000 dollars, was dug up in Carrabas country. The number of men employed in searching for gold, and the quantity procured, are continually on the increase. The first supply of gold to the United States Mint was, in 1814, to the extent



of 11,000 dollars' worth. At present there are nearly 20,000 men employed in procuring gold in this State alone ; and upwards of 5,000,000 dollars' worth of the precious metal is now obtained in the course of a year. A single company, or firm, employs nearly 1,000 hands ; and these include Americans, English, Scotch, Irish, Welsh, Spaniards, Swedes, and Swiss ; and it is said there are no less than thirteen languages spoken among the various people employed. The best veins of gold are neither horizontal, nor vertical ; but with a dip of  $45^{\circ}$  to the horizon ; these are found in the low-lands, as well as in the hills ; they occur of all sizes, from a few inches to several feet in width ; and of depths not yet ascertained. No shafts have yet been sunk deeper than 120 feet ; and great numbers of the owners and renters of land work their several lots without the use of any machinery, merely digging, raking, and washing the earth ; though others of large capital have mills worked by stream, with water-power for grinding the ore, and crucibles for fining it. What is especially remarkable is this, that in excavating the earth, old shafts are sometimes opened, and machinery and tools used by some former race, who worked these mines before the Europeans had a footing on this continent, are discovered. Among these have been crucibles, which are so superior to any now made, that the Messrs. Bissell's, who are at the head of a large mining establishment there, assert that they have tried them, and found them to last twice or three times as long as even the Hessian crucibles, the best of modern use and manufacture. It is said that the miners, who come from the mines

of Europe and South America, to work in these, give it as their opinion, that this region is richer in gold than any other of similar extent on the surface of the globe. If so, North Carolina will, before many years are over, become a second Mexico, or Peru.

The commerce of this State is confined chiefly to the export of cotton, tobacco, lumber—that is, timber in various forms—tar, pitch, and turpentine, of which considerable quantities are made from the pines, growing here in extensive forests. The gold of North Carolina is sent not only to the United States Mint, but to France and other countries of Europe. There is a great obstacle to extensive commerce in this State, however, from its want of good harbours; those of Wilmington, Newbern, and Edenton, the only tolerable ones, being ill adapted to large ships; and nearly all their rivers are choked at the entrance by shoals and bars. The principal rivers are the Roanoke, the Tar, the Neuse, the Cape Fear, the Yadkin, and the Catawba. There are, however, fine canals uniting several of these streams, and improving the inland navigation; while five railroads are in progress, two of which will require a capital of 2,000,000 dollars each, and both will cover a distance of nearly 400 miles; so that, when these are completed, the commerce of North Carolina will, no doubt, be greatly improved.

The present capital of the State is Raleigh, and the State-House, now nearly finished, is described as one of the most beautiful buildings in the country. Its length is 160 feet, its breadth 140: height from the base to the top of the dome 100 feet, and of the walls of the edifice 60. The columns of the portico

are 5 feet  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, standing on a basement of 16 feet high; the proportions and entablature are copied from the Temple of the Parthenon at Athens. The entire building is of hewn granite, and its cost is estimated at 500,000 dollars, or £100,000 sterling.

The State has a Literary Fund for the support of Common Schools, consisting of 1,500,000 acres of land, with bank-stock and cash amounting to more than a million of dollars; and an Internal Improvement Fund of 1,000,000 dollars, both under the administration of their respective Boards.

The Legislature consists of a House of Representatives, called in this State, the "House of Commons," a Senate, or Upper House, and a Governor, who is assisted in his executive capacity by a Secretary of State, a Treasurer, and a Comptroller; the legislators being all elected for short periods, and the salaries of all the State officers moderate, the Governor receiving only 2,000 dollars, or £400 sterling a year.

The Judiciary consists of a Supreme Court, with three Judges at 2,500 dollars per annum each, and two official Reporters at 300 dollars each, and seven Judges of Circuit Courts, with an Attorney and a Solicitor-General.

There is an University at Chapel Hill, near Raleigh; and 80 Academies in the State. Of the religious bodies, the Baptists have about 18,000; the Methodists 14,000; the Presbyterians, 8,000; the Lutherans, 3,000; the Moravians, 2,000; the Quakers, 1,500; and the Episcopalians about 1,200.

## C H A P. X.

Departure from the Warm Springs—Journey along the banks of the French Broad River—Beautiful trees—Spreading vines—The Pleasant Bank—Fluctuations in temperature—The Painted Rocks—The Chimnies—Entry into the State of Tennessee—Mountain precipices—Deep glens—Tree-frogs—Splendid view—Bears in the wood—Log-hut—Visit to a great cave—Stalactytes—Pulpit, organ, and spring—Night journey—Reach Greenville—Great political excitement—Canvass for elections—Country waggons—Raystown—Political dialogue—Amalgamation—Leesburgh—Rocky road—The Syrian Auranites—Jonesborough—Rival candidates for Governor of the State—Statistics of the press of America—Singular toasts—Classical names.

WE left the Warm Springs of North Carolina at two o'clock in the afternoon, by the mail-stage, which passes this way, and after crossing the French Broad River, by the bridge in front of the hotel, we ascended an exceedingly steep hill, from the summit of which, looking down over a precipitous cliff, the view of the valley and the stream was strikingly beautiful. Descending from this height, the road wound along again by the margin of the river, which was here smooth and tranquil, compared with its rocky and turbulent state above. On both sides, the vines were more than usually luxuriant. In some places they encircled bare trunks of trees, that had been stripped of bark and branches, and left to stand erect till required to be removed. Claspings these near the

root, they wound up spirally, like the line of sculptured figures on the column of Trajan at Rome, or the bronze pillar of Napoleon in the Place Vendôme at Paris, making a vine-clad triumphal monument of Nature, strikingly contrasting with the trees decked in their own rich foliage, and spreading their numerous boughs to the winds. In others, the vines had spread themselves over a dozen trees in succession, and made of them a complete mass of close foliage on the top and sides, with fine open spaces within, furnishing delightful shady arbours; while the roof and walls of this natural palace, or mansion, were, by the thick overlaying of the leaves, quite impervious to the rays of the sun. The whole resembled strikingly those masses of foliage and verdure met with in the interior of Africa, and converted into different apartments by Le Vaillant, similar to that which is so beautifully described by our old English poet, Spencer—

“ And in the thickest covert of that shade,  
There was a pleasant arbour,—not by art,  
But of the trees’ own inclination made,  
Which, knitting their rank branches part to part,  
With wanton ivy-twine entrailed athwart,  
And eglantine and caprifole among,  
Fashioned above, within their inmost part,  
That neither Phœbus’ beams could through them throng,  
Nor Æolus’ sharp blast could work them any wrong.”

About two miles beyond the Warm Springs, we came to an excellent inn, at a spot called “The Pleasant Bank,” and never was a more appropriate name given. The house stood on the right bank of the river, close to the water’s edge; and immediately

before it were several noble trees, one of which, a weeping-willow, which had been planted by the keeper of the hotel only seven years ago, had now attained to the height of more than sixty feet; while a still larger one, planted before his arrival, towered to the height of eighty feet at least! The opposite bank was steep, lofty, and thickly-wooded; and the river ran by with great rapidity, giving life and animation to the scene. The heat of the atmosphere was at this moment, about three P. M., greater than we had felt it since leaving Columbia, the thermometer exceeding  $96^{\circ}$ ; yet, in winter, the cold is described as intense here, the river being frequently frozen over for weeks in succession; and last year a high-road for waggons and carts existed across the river for some time. The changes of temperature in the spring and autumn are very sudden, and reach to great extremes, often  $50^{\circ}$  in the course of twenty-four hours. I thought this excessive; but when I expressed this opinion, I was shown the following paragraph, to prove that the differences of temperature was much greater in England. It was in a copy of the London Examiner, for the 12th of May, which had come out by the "Great Western" steamer, and had been forwarded after me here, from the Virginia Springs.

"FLUCTUATION IN THE TEMPERATURE.—A very extraordinary difference in the temperature occurred on Sunday. The thermometer, placed in direct opposition to the rays of the sun, rose to 112 degrees of Fahrenheit, the perpendicular thermometer was at 105, the one in the shade 69, and the night index sank to 46; making the very great difference, within fifteen hours, of 66 degrees. Barometer 29.85."

This subject led, by a very natural transition, to a long talk about England. The innkeeper and his wife had both been "raised in Virginia," as they termed it, close to Monticello, where Mr. Jefferson planted his University; but they had never seen or conversed with any one from England before, nor ever remembered any English person, known to them as such, to have passed this way. Their conceptions of Europe generally, were very crude, and sometimes ludicrous; but not more so than those which many people in a similar rank of life in England, entertain of France and America. There appeared, however, to be much respect for England, and great good feeling towards her people, with these unsophisticated mountaineers; though on the coast, this respect and good feeling are confined chiefly to the wealthy and well-educated classes; the prejudices of the vulgar and the ignorant being still very strong against what was once the mother-country, and which only ceased to be so because she unwisely and unjustly oppressed her colonial children.

We left "The Pleasant Bank" after a short but agreeable stay, with a new driver and a new team, and still found the road along the river more and more beautiful as we advanced. The trees on the river's banks became larger in size, and among them were now seen noble spruce-firs, blending their deep-green and feathery foliage advantageously with the lighter tints of other trees; while the dark and glossy holly, with small smooth leaf and prickly edge, afforded another pleasing variety. The river was said to abound with fish of various kinds—among others, with trout and shad; and several weirs and traps

were set for catching them in different parts of the stream. Deer abounded so thickly in the neighbourhood, that three or four fine animals would often be brought home by a small shooting-party after a few hours' stroll in the woods.

About four miles from the Pleasant Bank, we came to some lofty cliffs of rock, overhanging the river to the height of 120 or 130 feet. This spot is called "The Painted Mountain," from the circumstance of there being found on the surface of the cliffs, in places thirty and forty feet from the base, and wholly inaccessible without ladders, certain devices painted in different colours, of which no one knows the history, and of the origin of which there is not the least tradition. The two places which I saw, exhibited nothing like written characters, but rather a fanciful device, like a frieze or border, and resembling some of the patterns of wavy lines seen on the vases dug up from the ruined temples of the Mexicans, and like that seen on the vase taken up from the supposed Mexican mound at Natchez. There is as much obscurity, however, about these painted signs on the rocks here, as about the written signs on the rocks near Mount Horeb and Sinai, which were at one time thought to be inscriptions made by the Israelites in their desert-wanderings—as these are thought to be signs left by some extinct races of Indians. Nor is there the least reasonable ground of hope that we shall ever know more about either of their memorials of the past, than we know at present.

Near these painted cliffs, the road divides; that on the left continuing along the edge of the river



towards Knoxville ; and about half a mile from this point are still loftier cliffs, rising to the height of 300 feet above the stream, and having the road overhung by a portion of them. At this spot there were formerly several narrow shafts, or square pillars of rock, that rose 100 feet above the cliff, and gave to the place the name of "The Chimnies." But limestone being wanted for the repair of the road, and the protruding masses being more easily knocked off than the more solid portions of the mass below, these picturesque objects were destroyed for that purpose. The place is still called by its former name, however, and is still numbered among the natural curiosities of the neighbourhood.

At the point where the road divides, we left the State of North Carolina and entered that of Tennessee, taking the road to the right, and leaving the French Broad River entirely, that stream flowing on westerly till it reaches the river Tennessee, which gives its name to the State, and thence going on to join the great Mississippi.

Our route now lay nearly north ; and we had to ascend a mountain of such steepness, that it was necessary to wind up its sides by a perpetually bending and returning road, constantly having on one side a slope so steep that the slightest false step or start of the horses would risk the complete destruction of all. The deep glens into which we looked down, while the coach seemed to be within a few inches of the edge of a precipice, were sublimely grand, with a mixture of the terrible and fearful also. The trees were of immense size, especially the oaks and chesnut ; and tall hickories were now numerous.

A very beautiful flowering-shrub, called the sour-wood, was also abundant; though the name must have been given in irony, as its flowercups are said to yield, in spring, abundance of rich honey; and trees or brushes of the rhododendron covered every part of the slopes and cliffs in thousands. From some of the trees we heard a croaking of the tree-frog above our heads; there being a species of this reptile that ascends trees, and croaks from its branches. They are said to choose those trees whose barks are most nearly allied in colour to that of their own bodies; but we had no opportunity of verifying this; and we could not see the frogs themselves from their height, though their voices were quite as powerful as when heard in the marshes. The hill was so steep, that though the winding road was only two miles from its base to its summit, we were upwards of two hours in accomplishing the ascent, from the difficulty of the way, and the frequent stoppages necessary to give the horses breath. There were some delightfully cool rock-springs, at which we all drank copiously, and the heat and fatigue gave zest to the draught.

From the summit of this mountain, as well as from several points of the ascent, the prospect was as grand, as extensive, and as beautiful as anything we had yet seen. From the top of the ridge several distinct ranges of other mountains were seen rising in succession one beyond the other, like the waves of the sea, presenting not less than a hundred separate and distinct eminences and peaks, within view at the same moment of time. At this part of the mountain, black and brown bears are said to be very abundant: my son, who was walking in the woods, a

little off the main road, accompanied by a servant, met one of the latter kind in full front; but he appeared to be more alarmed than they, and ran off with great speed. It is said by the people here, that the bear rarely attacks men, or even animals, unless pursued and wounded; and then in rage and despair it will sometimes turn on its pursuers, and hug them to death. It is remarked, however, that the bears do not, like other beasts of prey, first kill their victim, and then devour it; but they tear it in pieces, and devour it without waiting for the death of the creature attacked; so that it may be said to eat it alive. In general, however, it contents itself by feeding on the various berries, nuts, and wild fruits of the woods, and on the larvæ of insects found in trees. The acorns of the oak, the varied esculent roots of the forest, and small quadrupeds, birds, insects, and eggs, also enter into their food; and while these are abundant, man is seldom molested by them. The Indians formerly hunted the bear, much more than their white successors now do; and they turned almost every part of it to account. The flesh was used for food; and the forepaws were considered as great a delicacy by the epicures of the American tribes, as the foot of the elephant is described to be among the African Hottentots. The claws were extracted, strung on strings made out of the dried intestines of the deer, and worn round the neck of the Indian chief and hunter as trophies; and this is still the case among the Indian tribes of the Far West. Of the size to which the bear of this country sometimes attained, Bartram mentions a striking instance, as he relates that he was present at the

cutting up of one, whose skin, when spread out, was as large as that of an ordinary ox ; and its weight was about 600 lbs. In general they are much smaller, weighing from 200 to 300 lbs. They are now only valued for their grease and their skins, which last are much used for seats in carriages, mats in houses, and coverings for travelling trunks, for which the black are preferred ; the skins sell usually at from three dollars to four dollars each.

Our descent from the summit of this mountain was much more gentle and easy than the ascent on the other side. The highest point was estimated at about 3,000 feet above the level of the sea ; and as we did not descend more than 1,000 feet, we were still, when in the valley, about 2,000 feet above the ocean. In this, however, as on the higher slopes, the forest-trees were of splendid growth, from nine to ten feet in circumference, and sixty to a hundred feet in height. Instead of the dull and uniform pine, so unvarying and monotonous in the forests of the South, these were all trees of light and graceful foliage, and the general aspect of the whole was as beautiful as it was grand.

At the foot of the mountain, we met with the first log-hut in Tennessee, and it gave us, here, on the very threshold of the State, a favourable impression of its inhabitants. It was the neatest and cleanest we had seen in the country ; though small, it had clean glass-windows without a single broken pane, neat white dimity curtains on the inside, clean though humble furniture, and industrious inmates ; the children were all clean and well clad, and the women were busily occupied. The cattle around

the spot seemed numerous, and better fed than usual, though they live much less luxuriously than in England. There are here no rich pastures of meadow-land, laid down in grass, such as one might suppose to be the pasture-grounds of the "fat bulls of Bashan," but the cattle pick up such scanty subsistence as they may be able, in the woods and along the wayside. As they thus wander several miles a day in search of provender, they are provided with a large metal bell hung under the neck, the heavy and dull sound of which is sufficiently loud to indicate the spot where a wanderer, who has strayed beyond his usual track, may be found. There are but few sheep seen anywhere along the road, as their flesh is not valued as food, but hogs were everywhere abundant. These are among the ugliest of their species, with long thin heads, long legs, arched backs, large lapping ears, lank bodies, and long thin tails, and they are among the filthiest of the filthy. I had never before thought there could be such difference in pigs; but I may now say, that the hog of England is as much superior in beauty of form and cleanliness of habit to the hog of America, as the Bucephalus of Alexander was to the Rosinante of Don Quixote; as superior, in short, as animals of the same race can be to each other. The flesh of the hog is, however, the universal food of all classes in the interior, and we have never yet sat down to any meal, where pork or bacon did not form the principal, and often the only dish of animal food on the table, though it is generally so rank, coarse, and greasily served up, that it requires the stimulus of great hunger to partake of it.

About seven o'clock we reached a clean and comfortable inn, at a station called Cave Hill, from a large cavern in the neighbourhood ; and as the coach was to halt here for some time, we availed ourselves of the assistance of the usual guides for such excursions, and went to visit the cave by the bright light of a nearly full moon. Ascending to the top of a small rounded hill, we came at first to a shelving pit ; we descended into this by means of two trunks of trees, placed for the visitor to slide down between them, and soon came to the overhanging rock which forms the opening of the cave. This had an aperture of about four feet in depth, so that by a little stooping it was easy to pass it, and the vast cavern beyond irresistibly tempted one to go further ; but every step taken became more difficult and more unpleasant, from the deadly chill of the atmosphere. The thermometer stood here at  $40^{\circ}$ , while outside it was at  $80^{\circ}$ , so that the breath was as visible as in a frosty morning ; while dripping water, and large masses of rock covered with wet clay, made it slippery to the hands and feet, and difficult to hold firmly with either. Instead of torches, we had only three small candles, and the gloom was, therefore, considerable ; while the bats, the only permanent abiders in this cavernous retreat, were several times near extinguishing these by flying directly at the flame. Our party succeeded, however, in going for about a quarter of a mile into the cave, and we were all amply rewarded for our pains.

Besides the grandeur of any large subterraneous cavity like this, which extends upwards of a mile in length, and is in some places thirty or forty feet

high, there were here a number of beautiful stalactytes, and petrifications of the most grotesque forms. In the part where our excursion terminated, there was a singular projection of rock called "the pulpit," the ascent to it being by steps, and there being a slope in its front like a reading-desk. Near the same place also is a long range of stalactytes in columns, or rather semi-columns, projecting from the rocky wall in full relief, the central ones of which are the largest; and as these gradually diminish on each side towards the end, the whole resemble the pipes of a large organ. Like these also, the upper and lower extremities of the pillars are small, and the largest parts of their diameters are in the centre. This is appropriately enough called "the organ," for in addition to this general resemblance to the exterior front of such an instrument, the pipes give forth each a different sound when struck by the hammer, from the deepest tones of the bass, by the largest pipes of the centre, to the shriller and shriller notes of the treble, as the hammer goes on striking the successive pillars, which grow smaller and smaller towards the sides. Beyond this is a fine spring of deliciously sweet, clear, and cold water; and still further on, other pillars and stalactytes, the whole cave extending for a mile, no one having yet, as our guides said, quite reached the end. As it was admitted that we had seen the most interesting portion, and as our time was limited and our candles growing short, it was thought best to be content and refrain from going further. We therefore retraced our steps, and saw rather more of the danger of a false step in coming back, than in first going

in. In some places there were deep hollows of thirty or forty feet, with water in them, the depth of which was not known, and a person falling into one of these would have little hope of recovery. Even close to the entrance, where the descent made into the cave is by a ladder of ten or twelve steps, there is also a deep and yawning gulf, into which one false step would precipitate the visitor; and his destruction would be inevitable. We were all heartily glad therefore to reach the open air in safety, though, when we got there, the change from a temperature of  $40^{\circ}$  to about  $80^{\circ}$  produced a sense of suffocation, and made us perspire most copiously, as well as to feel intense thirst.

We left the inn at Cave Hill about eleven at night, for Greenville; but had scarcely got a mile from thence, before the driver bade us roll all the curtains of the coach up, and keep a good look-out, as an attempt had been made to rob the mail in this road only a few nights ago; and the parties having been then unsuccessful, he feared that they would seek for some accession to their numbers, and make another attempt on the first favourable opportunity. This was not very agreeable intelligence; but we put ourselves in a state of vigilance, at least, so as to prepare for the worst; and though we had not yet met with an instance of such an attack since we had been in the country, we thought the time might now have arrived, and that we must brave it as well as we could, for we had never carried arms of defence of any kind whatever.

The road was a continual series of ascents and descents, to each of which the driver had to adapt



the coach, by locking or unlocking the wheels, as required. For this purpose he was obliged to get off every time with the reins in his hand, as there are no guards or other assistants sent with the mails here. We stopped, therefore, for this purpose, fifty times, at least, in our short journey of thirteen miles. Besides this, he halted four times to water his horses, tying up the reins to the coach-box ; and requiring to go from fifty to one hundred yards from the road for water, bringing it in the tin bucket which coaches carry for the purpose, hung at one of the lamp-posts, there being no watering-troughs, as in England, on the road ; and as he had to bring a bucket for each of his four horses each time, a good hour was consumed in these four waterings. The road, besides being thus hilly, had more than usually dense forests, especially in the bottoms or hollows, so that even the bright moon afforded us very little light ; and the straining of the eyes in these dark places produced so many spectral illusions, that stumps of trees were perpetually taken for men on foot, and waving boughs for horsemen in motion ; but we encountered neither the one nor the other.

About an hour before reaching Greenville, we forded the Nolichucky river, a broad and clear, but shallow stream, with high rocky banks, where another detention took place, so that we did not reach Greenville till four o'clock, a little before daylight ; having been, therefore, five hours in going a distance of thirteen miles, over the most disagreeable road we had yet travelled.

On reaching the inn at which the stage usually stopped, no one was up, but, by hard knocking, we

aroused some one ; and in a few minutes a man appeared just as he had risen from his bed, with white cotton trousers and shirt, but without stockings, shoes, jacket, or waistcoat. As he began to assist the coachman in taking down our baggage, I supposed he was the clerk or book-keeper of the inn ; for these are the only white servants they usually have, the porters and attendants being almost always negroes ; but I soon heard him addressed by the title of Major Molony, and found that he was the master of the inn. We asked for bed-rooms, and were shown first to one in which were four beds, some already occupied by men ; then to a smaller room, with three beds, partly occupied also in the same manner. The greatest astonishment was expressed at our objection to sleep in the same room with other persons, particularly as they often put strangers together in the same bed, two or three at a time, they said, and no one made any objections to it ! At length, for the lady's accommodation, we were shown what was called the " reserved room for families ;" where, in a space not much larger than enough to contain the two beds within it, we had to accommodate ourselves as well as we could. There had been smoking and brandy-drinking in it the night before, as we judged from the fragments of unfinished cigars, and a tumbler containing some unconsumed brandy ; but we were assured that the room was perfectly clean, as no one had been in it but Governor Polk, and he had merely lain down on the bed without taking his clothes off.

It appeared, on inquiry, that the little town of Greenville had been the scene of great excitement

on the previous day. The period was approaching for the election of Governor of the State ; and the present occupant of that office, Governor Connor, a Whig, was to be opposed by his rival candidate, Mr. Polk, the present Speaker of the House of Representatives in the General Congress at Washington, a Democrat. As in England, the candidates here patronize different houses, the Whigs made the other hotel their head-quarters ; and this was the camp of the Democrats. The candidates were on an electioneering tour ; and both appeared in the same town at the same time, to address the people at large ; but as no room could be found spacious enough to hold the auditors, this was done in the open air. They generally chose some spot in the fields, near the town ; had a temporary erection there, where the auditors, ladies as well as gentlemen, gathered round them ; and they spoke alternately, in attack and defence, on the measures of the administration, and on such topics as were most likely to win adherents to their respective parties. From all I could learn, the contest was likely to be very severe, though Mr. Polk was admitted on all sides to be the best orator ; and this weighs much more with the people of America, than higher and more important qualifications.

Greenville itself is a very small village, containing a court-house, two churches, Methodist and Presbyterian, about one hundred dwellings and stores, two hotels, and a population of about eight hundred persons, of whom not more than two hundred are negroes, or coloured people.

We left it at eleven, by a stage from Knoxville to

Blountsville—the only one in the country on which I had ever seen a picture painted on the door-panel; and this, moreover, was grossly indecent, such as no English or even French proprietor would have permitted for a moment to remain on his vehicle. The panels of both doors contained a painting, executed at the same time that the coach was built, and painted and varnished like the rest of the panelling. The picture on the one side represented a hussar warrior taking leave of his wife or lover, while his horse and his military companions awaited him at the garden-gate of his dwelling; and in this there was nothing objectionable. The picture on the other side represented a fashionably-dressed beau, embracing a lady on a sofa; and the offensively-amorous manner in which the figures were placed, seemed to attract the vulgar jests of the surrounding crowd, and to elicit from them expressions which showed how palpable was the indecency of the exhibition even to the commonest apprehensions. Yet abundant as the jests and obscenities were which passed from mouth to mouth, I heard no one speak in terms of censure. This was only another instance, added to many that I had seen before, which convinced me, that though the Americans affect to be much more delicate in their horror of certain associations than the people of any other nation, and scrupulously avoid the utterance of certain words in common use in England in the best society, without the slightest idea of impurity being attached to them by us; yet that, in reality, the men, of the South especially, are more indelicate in their thoughts and tastes than any European people; and exhibit a disgusting mixture

of prudery and licentiousness combined, which may be regarded as one of the effects of the system of Slavery, and the early familiarity with vicious intercourse to which it invariably leads.

On leaving Greenville, we proceeded nearly north, inclining easterly, towards Virginia. The country was increasingly beautiful, better cultivated than usual, and altogether charming. A little beyond Greenville we had a noble range of mountains on our right, at a distance of from eight to ten miles, which in general outline, woody undulations of surface, and hue or tint, reminded Mrs. Buckingham and myself of the appearance of the beautiful island of Scio, as we had seen it together when sailing along its eastern shore, in passing through the straits that divide it from the continent of Asia Minor, in our voyage through the Greek Archipelago to Smyrna.

We met here a number of waggons, coming down from Kentucky, and going into Carolina. They are as long, but much narrower, than our English waggons; are, like them, covered with a canvass-cloth spread over arched hoops on the top; but instead of the ends being perpendicular, and the roof level or horizontal, the top is curved in a much deeper bend than the hollowest back of a horse; and the ends are made to cock up nearly two feet above the lowest part of the bend in the centre; so that if a straight pole were put along the top of the waggon, while its two extremities would rest on the front and hind arch of the covering, there would be so deep a hollow in the centre, that a sheep might walk under the pole without touching it with his back. The front projects forward, and the hind part backward, each

in an angle of  $20^{\circ}$  to  $25^{\circ}$  beyond the perpendicular ; and this shelters persons sitting in the front or back of the waggon from rain or sun. They are drawn driver by six or eight horses or mules, in pairs ; the seats himself on the near-wheeler, astride like a postillion, with a long whip, and reins to drive the six or eight in hand, but never alights to walk. The rule of the road is just the opposite of that in England ; and instead of giving the right to others passing, as with us, the American drivers take the right themselves.

At ten miles from Greenville we came to a village called Raystown ; and as the political excitement of the approaching election had spread thus far, the conversation between the postmaster, the driver, and a store-keeper who joined them, was on the state of party-strength and tactics. As the postmasters are appointed by the President, these, and the mail contractors and mail-stage drivers, are usually, though not always, supporters of the existing administration, under whom they may be said to be placemen ; and such were those we saw here. The storekeeper, however, was on the other side, and he boldly denounced Mr. Van Buren as a tyrant. When asked for his reasons, he said, "Because he squandered the people's money in extravagant expenditure." He was reminded that the expenses of government were all voted by the House of Representatives ; and that the President did no more than sanction their acts. "But," replied the storekeeper, "he paid 20,000 dollars for Mr. Speaker Polk's chair, which I call a pretty smart item of expenditure ; and more shame to Mr. Speaker Polk to sit in such a piece of extra-

vagance, paid for out of the people's money." This was declared to be altogether an error, the sum being 200 dollars, or about 40% sterling; but the store-keeper persisted in his statement. He added "Van Buren is a tyrant, because he wishes to make all his sons Presidents after him, like the despots in Europe; for hasn't he sent over his son John to court Queen Victoria? and then, I suppose, we shall have Dick Johnson's nigger boys to be Vice-presidents, after their father, also." Now Mr. Van Buren is not only a thorough republican, but is complained of by his opponents as being too democratic; and, therefore, this alarm about his wishing to adopt the principle of hereditary monarchy, is as absurd as it would be for the politicians of England to accuse Queen Victoria of designing to make her kingdom a republic. But the allusion to "Dick Johnson's nigger boys," I did not understand, till it was explained to me. Mr. Richard M. Johnson, one of the senators from this State, Tennessee, to the General Congress at Washington—elected, therefore, by the legislature of this State, to represent them in the Upper House of the American parliament is also Speaker of that House, and Vice-president of the Union, the second man in rank, therefore, in the country; and his rank as senator, and as vice-president, is conferred by popular election. His progeny, it seems, are chiefly coloured children, by mulatto mothers; and this amalgamation—which is extensively practised by the white men of the South, though such horror is expressed at it, when the Abolitionists are falsely accused of encouraging it—is made, in Mr. Johnson's case, a great crime, to serve a party-purpose; though

the same thing done by a Whig, would, in the judgment of his party-supporters, be thought nothing of. The great crime of Mr. Johnson, however, is not in having coloured children, for that is a common occurrence among the planters of the South, but he has *married* the mother of these children, which is an indignity that the American people resent as an insult to their blood and race !

Beyond Raystown we came, after another ten miles, to a small village called Leesburgh ; and in our way, before and after passing this station, we had some of the most rocky patches of road we had yet passed over, reminding me indeed of that stony region of the ancient Auranites, or Modern Havuran, called the district of Ledjah, in Syria. The soil appeared to become richer, and the cultivation to be conducted in a more careful manner, the fields were more free of stumps of trees and weeds, the fences in higher order, and the farm-houses were neater, and in better condition. The haymakers were in many of the fields, mowing and heaping up their second crop ; the wheat-harvest had been gathered in ; the oats were now reaping and storing ; and the maize or Indian corn, which is not gathered till October, seemed very promising.

Five miles from Leesburgh brought us to Jonesborough, which is a larger village than either of the three preceding. We found the streets full of horses, saddled and bridled, belonging to the farmers of the neighbourhood, who had come in to attend "the speaking" as it is called, which was going on here to day, the rival candidates for the governorship being both here literally "in the field." The place of



meeting was in a field above the town, near the skirts of a wood. The audience was said to exceed 3,000 persons; and ladies and children were as numerous as gentlemen. They had been "at it" as our informant said, since breakfast-time; and as it was now nearly five in the afternoon, he thought they would soon "give over;" which we found to be the case, as we saw the crowd winding down the hill into the town just as our coach reached the post-office, where the mail was first delivered, and then we repaired to the hotel to change horses. It had been our intention to halt here for the night; but every bed in the town was engaged, and the excitement was excessive; we therefore thought it best to proceed onward. The town is prettily situated in a deep hollow, and consists chiefly of one long street, with more brick houses than wooden ones, which is unusual in the country. Its court-house was lately burnt down, fires being as frequent here as elsewhere in America. It has two churches, Methodist and Presbyterian, and a population of about 1,200 persons, including from 300 to 400 negroes.

While we remained at the hotel, I had an opportunity of looking over some of the local papers of recent date; one the "Athens' Courier," published at Athens, in Tennessee; the other the "Tennessee Sentinel," published here at Jonesborough; and though I had seen much of heated political controversy, and could make due allowance for the excitement of an election, I confess that I was shocked and disgusted by the ruffianly and blood-thirsty spirit which seemed to guide the pens of the editors and correspondents of these two papers; nor could I

wonder at the unwillingness of men of worth and honour to enter into the stormy sea of political life, and undergo the ordeal of a popular election in this country, while they are so certain of being assailed with the most unmeasured vituperation, and made the victim of the most false and foul aspersions by their political opponents. It is shamefully bad in England, to see the press so prostituted as it is there, to party-warfare of the most unprincipled kind. I thought it worse in the large cities of America; but they are both comparatively mild and fair, compared with the papers of the interior; and those of this section of Tennessee—for I should be sorry to speak of more than those that fell under my inspection—certainly surpass all that I have yet seen in coarseness and violence. The licentiousness of the newspaper press of this country is observed and felt to be a great and growing evil, by the Americans themselves; and in this country, certainly, neither their number nor their cheapness operates to make them purer or better, which many thought would be the effect of reducing the price and increasing the number of newspapers in England. In this country they are more numerous and cheaper than in any country in the world; and at the same time, I believe they are the most abusive, unjust, and unprincipled that are anywhere to be found; for, with a few honourable exceptions only, they appeared to me to sacrifice truth, honour, and courtesy, to party-feeling; hesitating at nothing to blacken the character of a political opponent, though he should be of the most pure and spotless reputation; raking up the slander of bygone years, to serve a momentary purpose; and

sparing neither age nor sex, neither the living nor the dead. Of the number of periodicals issuing from the American press, at the present moment, the following is the latest and most authentic list, taken from the official paper of Government, the "Washington Globe:"—

NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, AND PERIODICALS PUBLISHED  
IN THE UNITED STATES, 1st JULY, 1839.

Maine . . . . .	41	North Carolina . . . .	30
New Hampshire . . .	26	Florida Territory . . .	9
Vermont . . . . .	31	Alabama . . . . .	34
Massachusetts . . . .	124	Mississippi . . . . .	36
Rhode Island . . . .	14	Lousiana . . . . .	26
Connecticut . . . . .	31	Arkansas . . . . .	4
New York . . . . .	274	Tennessee . . . . .	50
New Jersey . . . . .	39	Kentucky . . . . .	31
Maryland . . . . .	40	Ohio . . . . .	164
Pennsylvania . . . . .	253	Michigan . . . . .	31
Delaware . . . . .	3	Wisconsin Territory . .	5
District of Columbia .	17	Iowa Territory . . . .	3
Virginia . . . . .	52	Indiana . . . . .	69
South Carolina . . . .	20	Illinois . . . . .	33
Georgia . . . . .	33	Missouri . . . . .	25

1,555

"Of the above, 116 are published daily, 14 tri-weekly, 30 semi-weekly, and 991 once a week. The remainder are issued semi-monthly, monthly, and quarterly, principally magazines and reviews. Many of the daily papers also issue triweeklys, semi-weeklys, and weeklys. Thirty-eight are in the German language, four in the French, and one in the Spanish. Several of the New Orleans papers are printed in French and English."

Of the cities, there are published in New York 71; in Philadelphia 71; in Boston 65; Cincinnati 27; in Baltimore 20; in Washington 11; in Richmond 10; in New Orleans 10

In describing so much of this mass of periodical issues from the press, as is constituted by the newspaper portion of it, to "be the most licentious and unprincipled in the world" I should hardly venture to trust my own judgment alone; but there are thousands among the most able and virtuous of the citizens of the United States, who openly express themselves on the subject in as severe terms as I have ventured to do. The oration pronounced before the University of Athens by one of the Demosthenian Society, on the Anniversary of American Independence, the 4th of July, which I heard with pleasure, but of which I was unable to obtain a copy, embodied a bold and fearless denunciation of this savage warfare of the public press on the reputation of honourable men, and the peace even of private life; and in the Richmond celebration of that day, the following toast was publicly proposed and accepted in the capital of Virginia, as reported in the "Richmond Inquirer," of July 16:—

*"By a Guest.*—The Political Press: Once the organ of news, truth, and information—but now prostituted to the vilest purposes, by party trick and drilling;—debased, degraded, it has become the vehicle of slander, falsehood, calumny, and defamation of the best and purest patriots of the land."

One remarkable feature of these national celebrations, but apparently of recent introduction, is that, instead of each party in politics uniting in a separate commemoration of the day, they join their forces in one, on the understanding that when the regular toasts appropriate to the day are gone through, persons on each side may propose such volunteer toasts as they see fit; and by a reciprocity of cour-

tesy the most opposite sentiments are proposed and received in the same company, which is as if the Tories and Radicals of England were to unite in the celebration of the Queen's accession to the throne; and each give, in turn, the toasts suggested by their respective views and principles. As a proof of the strange juxtaposition of the most opposite sentiments, the following are selected from the toasts given at the Williamsburgh celebration, in Virginia.

*"By William H. Fitzhugh.*—Agrarianism, Radicalism, and Locofocoism: A triple death to the triple-headed Cerberus.

*"By Thomas Blackwell.*—Whiggism, Conservatism, and Federalism: Each in itself a bitter draught; but the compound brings nausea and disgust."

This is certainly administering "the bane and antidote," the same persons and at the same time; and presents a striking contrast to the opposite line of conduct pursued by Americans, when they get up public meetings, where, instead of having speeches on both sides of a question, they usually confine the speeches and resolutions to men of one party in politics only; so that there is rarely or ever any debate on such occasions. This mingling together of opposite parties in convivial meetings, like that of the Anniversary of the Declaration of American Independence, is, however, generally approved; and the following paragraph from the "New York Gazette," from its frequent quotations by other papers, seems to speak the sentiments of many. The editor says—

"The National Anniversary was noticed with more than usual spirit in almost every part of the country, from which we have heard, (except Boston, where they had no spirits at all, but drank

all their toasts in bumpers of pure water.) We are pleased particularly with the celebration at Tróy, where both parties joined in the festivities, and where prominent Whig and Van Buren men acted together on the Committee of Arrangements. Would that it could be so in all places, upon every recurrence of the day."

While on this subject, I cannot refrain from presenting a few further specimens of the toasts offered on such occasions, remarkable for their quaintness, extravagance, or oddity. The first three were given at the Williamsburgh Celebration in Virginia, and all the rest were given at the Rhea County Celebration, in Tennessee—

"*By H. A. Claiborne.*—The Tide of Emigration. Athens was compelled to render her annual tribute of youths to the devouring Minotaur. Virginia's sons *voluntarily* desert her, and leave her childless and crownless in her voiceless woe."

"*By Benjamin E. Booth.*—The Ladies; the only endurable Aristocracy, who rule without laws—judge without jury—decide without appeal—and are never in the wrong."

"*By J. H. Fox.*—The Ladies of North Carolina: they are as pretty as they are witty, and their wit is as brilliant as the noon-day sun.

"*By J. W. Grain.*—The virtuous Ladies of America over those of England."

"*By Jesse Lastly.*—I have always been a free Republican, and always will be."

"*By John Witt.*—A whole-hog Democrat. to the bone, bone and all, and the marrow throw'd in."

"*Wanted.*

"Good officers to wield their swords,  
 Good politicians with good merits,  
 Good orators to deal in words,  
 And good landlords to deal in spirits."

"*By C. C. Bean.*

"Freeman, cheer the hickory tree,  
 Who oftentimes has sheltered thee."

*“ The fourth of July.*

“ Near old Bridgetown  
There was a grievous battle,  
Many a man lay there on the ground,  
Who caused the balls to rattle.”

“ *By Bird Pain.*—The tall hickories of Tennessee—May they continue to rise and spread until their summits shall reach the heavens, and their branches cover all the nations of the earth !”

“ *By L. B. Bean.*—Should Henry Clay be elected President, he would deluge our country with blood, and float our liberties on its tide.”

“ *By Bird Paine.*—Federalism and miss-named Whiggery—may it be securely *fixed* with a *sailor’s knot* to the tail of some comet, of remotest travel, and swing through ether as a spectre to the nations !”

After these specimens of the national modesty, and national taste of the class of persons who compose toasts, and prepare sentiments for the celebration of the great national festival, it will be admitted, I think, that though the farmers of Tennessee may have their country studded with such classical names as Athens, Sparta, Troy, Carthage, Memphis, and Palmyra, to say nothing of Paris, Cairo, and Damascus, all of which are to be found within their State, it will take some time before their prose compositions will equal those of Demosthenes, or their poetry rival that of Homer; there being only one feature in which they resemble the Athenians—though it must be admitted on much more slender grounds—namely, that of thinking themselves the only polished and refined people on the earth, and deeming all others their inferiors or barbarians.

## CHAP. XI.

Improved aspect of the country—Beautiful sunset—Halt at the Widow Hall's—Detention and insolence—Kind reception at Blountsville—History of an early settler—Visit to the public meeting of the rival candidates—Evening party—Music—Singular visitors—English and American elections—State of Tennessee—Boundaries established—Minerals—Agriculture—Population—Towns—Colleges—Proportions of Religious sects—Legislature and judiciary.

WE left Jonesborough and all its political bustle about six o'clock, and, pursuing our way towards Blountsville, we passed through some beautiful thick forests, with immense trees and deep shadows; and here and there saw the changing leaves of the sumach as red as if they had been just dipped in blood. There were also some fine tall Lombardy poplars, exceeding 100 feet in height, and a great variety of rich and beautiful foliage. Saw mills, and flour-mills, moved by water-power, were more thickly seen than before. Brick-fields and kilns, providing materials for building, were also met with: and the signs of increasing population and increasing comfort were everywhere abundant. Neat cottages, good farm-houses, and pleasant gardens, gave indication of progressive improvement, and the whole aspect of the country was as fine as that of the best parts of Yorkshire in England, to many agricultural portions of which it bore a striking resemblance.



We witnessed to-night, in the forests, one of the most gorgeously splendid and exquisitely beautiful sunsets it was ever my good fortune to behold—and yet I had seen many, in the East Indies, in the West Indies, in the Persian Gulf, in the Red Sea, in the Mediterranean, and in the Indian Ocean. Its glory was so surpassing, that no language could describe it. Its ever-changing beauty was so evanescent, that no painter could portray it; and neither the glowing pen of Milton, nor the lucid pencil of Claude, though dipped in the colours of the rainbow, would be equal to its delineation. There are some things that baffle the powers of description in proportion to the intensity of the admiration they excite, and this was one of them. One might heap up epithets of exaggeration till they reached the limits of bombast, or one might more chastely picture forth, in

“Thoughts that breathe, and words that burn,”

the several elements of which this splendour of the heavens was formed; but neither the epithets of golden, crimsoned, purple, dappled, molten, wavy, liquid, or pearly—though all applicable in turn to the several parts—could furnish any idea of the majestic and unearthly beauty of the whole. It was as if the Deity were about to unveil himself to the humble adorers of his power; and the throne of heaven was displayed in all that overwhelming radiance, to which even the eyes of angels could hardly dare to look up—save that the beams of glory which surrounded it, were so softened and subdued by the rays of mercy mingling with them, as to encourage even the feeblest of created things, to gaze on the radiant scene, to worship and adore. Well, indeed, might the Sabeans

of Arabia, the Magi of Persia, the priests of Egypt, the poets of Greece and Rome, and the Montezumas and Atalibas of Mexico and Peru, be excused, in the absence of direct revelation, for paying homage to the Sun, that fittest emblem of Supreme Power! by whose light and heat the whole system of animal and vegetable life is sustained, by whose presence all Nature is revived and cheered, and whose glory is so much greater, when seen under combinations like these, than that of all other created things—that it gives the most vivid impression which man can receive of the omnipotence and omnipresence of the great Creator, and fills the soul with a sense of awe and devotion not to be described by words, but felt to be embodied in the beautiful line of Thomson—

“Come, then, expressive Silence, muse His praise.”

I had never before witnessed such a sunset. I never can hope to see its like again; but I feel that I shall remember this to the last hour of my life.

At eight o'clock we reached one of the usual stations for changing the horses of the mail-stage, just midway between Jonesborough and Blountsville, about ten miles from each. The situation was inviting, a neat brick dwelling, with double portico, seated in a valley on the banks of the Watauga river, and the keeper of it, a widow of 75, with a mother still living at 108, in the same house. We were much tempted to stop and pass the night here; but as the moon was near the full, we resolved upon going on another stage at least. While seated at the tea-table, however, an accident defeated all our plans, and compelled us to stay. The new driver, on bringing out his team of four horses, wished to teach them to follow

him, as well-trained horses often do in England ; but the animals were not disposed to yield to his invitation, and took it into their heads to play truant, by going off, all harnessed, at a full canter, faster than any one could pursue them. Owing to this mishap, we were kept at the Widow Hall's farmhouse, for two days and nights, in complete embargo. The mail-stage ran only every other day ; and no extra coach or chaise could be had from Jonesborough or Blountsville. Here we remained, therefore, unable to move forward or backward, and subject to gross insolence from the driver, who had conceived a strong antipathy to our whole party, for no other reason than that we were English ; and this he had no scruple to assign as the reason why he would not even fulfil his own engagements when asked so to do ; because, he said, "he was an American, and he would never suffer an Englishman to *crow* over him, which he thought he should do, if he did anything at our bidding."\*

\* Though this prejudice against the English is very strong among the ignorant classes of America, we subsequently learnt that there were peculiar circumstances in the history of this individual, which still further embittered him against the whole English nation. He was a native of Georgetown, close to the City of Washington, in the District of Columbia : and was present when the English, under Sir George Cockburn, landed at Washington, burnt the Capitol, destroyed the Public Records in their Patent Office, and the Library of Congress. He partook, therefore, as well he might, in the common feeling of indignation, which these outrages excited in every American bosom. Such is the effect of War, not only to estrange nations while engaged in actual hostilities ; but to engender feelings in the people of the countries engaged in warfare, which require a lifetime of peace entirely to obliterate !

In this dilemma, I happened to hear that there was an Irishman, named William Deery, who lived in Blountsville, and had a carriage and pair, which he sometimes used for carrying his family, though his horses were most frequently working at the farm. My servant being also an Irishman, I sent him over to make a statement of our case, and solicit the use of his carriage, to get us on as far as Blountsville, at least, where we should be in the line of the Virginia stages. The mission was successful, as the servant returned bringing with him the carriage and horses, by which we were happily rescued from our tedious and disagreeable detention.

In our journey from hence to Blountsville, we passed the river Watauga by fording it; and soon after crossed another small stream, the Holston, in the same manner. There was nothing peculiar in the road, it being as hilly and rocky as most that we had passed over of late; but there was a greater proportion of the blood-red leaves of the sumach and dogwood in the forests; and extensive tracts of what appeared to us at a distance to be fine green grass, but which we afterwards ascertained to be the herb or weed called pennyroyal, with a powerfully aromatic smell, and used here, as in England, medicinally, in the form of herb-tea. We found also a party of about twenty white men, farmers, repairing the road, which we remarked the more, as it was the first instance of our witnessing such an application of labour in any part of our journey, though so much needed in every district of the country.

On arriving at Blountsville, we were most kindly received by Mr. Deery, who had ordered his servant

to take us to his house, and not to the hotel, and he had provided an excellent dinner for our refreshment. He wished us, indeed, to stay some time with him, and expressed his extreme delight to meet with any one from "the old country," and do them all the honour in his power. His wife, son, and daughter were as warm and cordial as himself; and their house was among the neatest and most comfortable we had seen for many a day, while everything about the table-service and the beds were remarkable for that cleanliness and neatness in all their minutiae, which American housekeepers in the country seemed to us never to attain, either because they did not perceive the advantage, or enjoy the pleasure, of such arrangements; or because they would not give themselves that trouble, without which, neither these nor any other comforts can be provided and preserved.

Mr. Deery unfolded himself to us with a degree of frankness which was at once natural and delightful; and his history was as honourable to himself as it is encouraging to those of his countrymen who come to this country, as he did, to obtain a competency. He left the neighbourhood of Londonderry, where he was born, at the age of nineteen, and having some little money, he laid in a stock of such goods as the back-settlers needed, and came as far as Tennessee at once, it being then, in 1804, a frontier country, with Indian tribes living close to the white settlements. He was successful in his first adventure, and repeated it on a little larger scale; until, after two or three trips of this kind, he fixed himself in a store at Blountsville, where he had now been stationary for forty-two years. As his means increased, he

sent home for his father, mother, brothers, and sisters. The parents lived with him to a good old age, and both were buried in adjoining graves. The brothers and sisters all prospered ; and Mr. Deery has now a large store, filled with everything required by the farmer for miles round. His surplus capital he had invested in land when it was cheap ; and having improved it by farming, he is now one of the wealthiest men in the town or neighbourhood ; and, as we could see, by the universal respect paid to him by all we met in the streets and houses, honoured and beloved by his fellow-citizens.

His wife was a fine specimen of a hearty and hospitable matron, anxious to do everything that could afford pleasure to her guests. The eldest son was a fine-grown and gentlemanly young man, of twenty ; the daughter about seventeen, well educated by two Scotch ladies, Miss Melville and Miss Gibson, who keep a Female Academy in Jonesborough ; another son was at college, aged fifteen ; and an interesting little daughter, of seven, was at school in the village. Add to all this, the family were temperate and religious ; the father having never tasted spirits or wine for forty years—the son, never ; and family-worship being their habitual practice. It was impossible to conceive a more pleasing picture of honest prosperity and innocent happiness than the history of this family afforded ; and yet, it may be said that such success is within the reach of nearly all those who emigrate to this country from Great Britain, if they would only pursue it by the same steps. Industry, prudence, economy, perseverance, honesty, sobriety, filial affection, and piety. These are within the reach of

the humblest ; and their rewards are sure. But, blind and infatuated, the great mass of those who leave their homes in Europe, for a competency in America, are carried by the torrent of intemperance, vice, and impiety, to an early and dishonoured grave.

After dinner, we went to take a walk through the village, which is very small, containing not more than 50 houses and about 400 persons ; with less than 50 negroes, the proportion of these having greatly diminished of late years, as the high prices given for them in the south and west, leads to their being sold off to slave-dealers coming up from thence ; and white labourers take their places here. There is a small court-house, two churches, Methodist and Presbyterian, and two hotels. Although the village is small, it was to-day filled with people, not less than 500 farmers having come in from the surrounding country to hear "the speaking" of the several candidates for Governor, Senator, and Representatives, now canvassing the State. This took place in the Methodist church, and not in the open air, as at Jonesborough, so that the crowd was excessive, and the heat intolerable. I suffered from this inconvenience, however, much less than others, as, on being taken into the building by Mr. Deery, a way was made for us through the throng, and we took our seats on the platform, which in this country is generally substituted for the pulpit, and is capable of holding five or six persons comfortably ; and here we remained behind the orators, to each of whom I was subsequently introduced. The speaking was sensible, moderate, free from bombast, and much calmer and more argumentative than election-speeches usually

are in England. The rival candidates were spoken of with the greatest respect, and not a sentence of declamation, or a word of vituperation, either of parties or individuals, took place, at which I was agreeably surprised ; because the excessively violent tone of the newspapers would lead one to expect a corresponding degree of severity in the candidates whose cause they espoused ; but here, at least, this was not the case. The audience, like that of all political assemblies I had yet seen in America, were the most quiet and orderly that could be imagined ; as much so, indeed, as a congregation hearing a sermon. There was no clapping of hands, no stamping of feet, no motion even of the head, or smile upon the countenance to indicate approbation ; no cry of " hear, hear," so cheering to the speaker, and so animating to the auditors, as in England ; nor, in short, any indication whatever by which anyone could ascertain whether the sentiments of the orators were in unison with those whom he addressed, or otherwise. Even at the close of the meeting, there was no resolution proposed, or vote taken, but the people silently dispersed, apparently without even exchanging opinions between themselves, as to what had been addressed to them. On the desk of the pulpit, just before the speakers, was a huge brown earthenware pitcher of water, holding from two to three quarts, which, at almost every pause, the speakers lifted to their mouths with both hands, and took a copious draught ; and one of the orators, Colonel Aiken, a candidate for a seat in the Legislature of the State as Senator, had a silk handkerchief folded like a neckcloth, and hung across the pulpit-desk,



with one end dangling over towards the audience, and this he drew across his mouth, from side to side, holding both ends tight as a rope, after every time of drinking.

I mention these little traits of manners as characteristic of the scene, though, at the same time, I remember that in the British House of Commons, in the great debate on the Repeal of the Union between England and Ireland, in 1834 or 1835, Mr. O'Connell, at the beginning of his six-hours speech, took off his black silk neckcloth, and hung it across the corner of the large table in front of the Speaker's chair—the only time, perhaps, such a thing was ever done in that assembly; but Sir Robert Peel, Lord John Russell, Lord Stanley, and some of the leading orators of the British House of Commons, may often be seen stopping in the middle of a speech to suck an orange, which some brother member had been sent out to purchase of the orange-woman in the lobby a few minutes before. I think, that, of the two, the glass of pure water seen on the desks of the speakers in the American Congress, as well as at their public meetings and in their pulpits, is a more agreeable sight to the spectator than the orange-sucking of the House of Commons, and the most effectual relief or refreshment to the speaker, though I know, by experience, that both may be well dispensed with, by persons who resist the first temptations to the habit.

Though no one has enjoyed with more delight than myself the cheers of approbation which an English audience bestow so liberally when they deem it due, yet, if I were compelled to choose between

the two extremes, of American silence and British vociferation, such as is sometimes heard at the midnight sittings of the House of Commons, in groans, yells, and imitations of the braying of the ass, and the crowing of the cock, which the authority even of the Speaker has been unable to check, I should certainly prefer the former. Each nation might, perhaps, benefit by an interchange in this respect; the public debates of the English would, undoubtedly, be improved by a little larger infusion of American decorum among the hearers, and the public meetings of the Americans would be equally improved by a moderate admixture of English warmth, animation, and enthusiasm.

We returned to Mr. Deery's to pass the evening, in the course of which, the eldest daughter played and sang very agreeably, accompanying herself on an excellent pianoforte, of Clementi's make, which her father had imported from London expressly for her use. This brought a crowd of the farmers, who were still in town, round the windows; others entered the hall or passage; and some came into the drawing-room, and seated themselves with their hats on, to enjoy the music. As these retired, others took their places, and one young man brought in his sister and his intended wife, and said, as he placed them in chairs, "These ladies, if you please, are come to have a little music." Some of the visitors were known to Mr. Deery only as his customers, but others were not known to him at all. This, however, created no embarrassment on either side; the visitors evidently thought they were doing nothing wrong, in walking in unasked, and soliciting "a tune;" and the

family, aware that such unsolicited visits are very common among the country people, took no offence, because none was intended, so that all passed off quietly ; but I never remember to have seen rustic simplicity more complete than here.

It may be mentioned, to the credit of the people, that among all their numbers, not more than two or three were seen intoxicated during the whole of the day ; though, on a similar occasion to this, in almost any country-town in England, there would have been, no doubt, fifty. All the exciting causes of party-hostility, which create so much bad feeling at English canvasses and elections, were absent here. There were no flags or banners, no processions, no distinguishing colours or badges, no bands of music, no open-houses for the voters, and no treating or entertaining of any kind by either party ; though the suffrage is universal, and the voters consequently numerous. Their very numbers, however, present a powerful check to bribery ; and as they vote by ballot, this furnishes an additional security against the introduction of that practice.

Respecting the practice of canvassing, by candidates for office, and especially for such as that of Governor, the highest in the State, I was glad to find that the general opinion of the more intelligent classes here, was unfavourable to it ; they thought such candidates should be solicited to serve, by their constituents, and not be themselves the solicitors for the appointment. I have always thought that in England it was degrading to the character and dignity of a representative of the people, to go the rounds of a political and personal canvass, soliciting men, who

should be left to their own free choice, to vote for them; and, therefore, I never submitted to this practice myself, in the two elections for Sheffield, as member of parliament, and always censured it in others. But the political canvassing in America does not descend to the English practice of personally waiting on the poorest voters in their houses, shaking hands with them as perfect equals, flattering their wives, and kissing their little children, and then *soliciting* the *favour* of the individual's vote. The practice here, is confined to the visiting certain towns and districts, by appointment, throughout the State, there making a public statement of principles and opinions on the great political topics of the day, and then leaving the voters to decide for themselves. ~~The~~ labour and expense of such a canvass is, however, very great; as in this State of Tennessee, which is nearly as large in area as England, the candidates for the governorship, had already travelled over upwards of 2,000 miles; and it was thought that it would require a journey of at least 1,000 miles more, before they would have traversed the length and breadth of the land. It is in a few of the States only that the governors are elected by the whole body of voters. In most of them, the legislature, in joint ballot, elect the governor; and then, no such extensive canvass is thought necessary. Even in this State, the representatives and senators are sent from particular districts, and to the limits of these districts only are their canvassing labours confined; but the governors, being dependent for their election on the votes of *all* the electoral body in every part of the State, must visit every district in it, and address

the people in each, if they hope to succeed, though the State is more than 400 miles in length from east to west, and more than 100 miles broad from north to south.

The shape of this State is remarkable for its regularity, being a lengthened oblong, stretching east and west from the Iron Mountains of North Carolina, to the Mississippi river, a distance of 420 miles, and having its northern and southern boundaries accurately defined by two straight parallels of latitude, namely  $35^{\circ}$  for its southern edge, and  $36^{\circ} 30'$  for its northern ; being thus a degree and half of latitude in breadth, or 104 miles. It has an area, therefore, of upwards of 40,000 square miles, or 25,600,000 acres of land, without heaths or deserts, and the greater portion of it fine fertile soil, abundantly watered with rivers. Its name is derived from its principal stream, the Tenn-asse, so pronounced by the Indians, and meaning, in their language, "a curved spoon," from some supposed resemblance between this, and their winding river.

The lands now forming this State, were included in the second charter of North Carolina, granted in 1664, by Charles the Second ; but it was not until 1754, that a few white families ventured as far west as the Cumberland river, where they were attacked, and driven off by the Indians. A fort, called Fort London, was built here by the British in 1757 ; but a war breaking out between the British and the Cherokees in 1759, this fort was taken by the Indians, and all the whites in it were tomahawked. In 1761, the Indians submitted to a treaty of peace ; and in 1765, emigration began towards the river

Holston, and progressively increased. From this period, the white population penetrated farther and farther to the west, and planted their log-cabins amidst hitherto untrodden forests. In 1776, at the period of the Declaration of Independence, they had grown to be very numerous ; and espousing as they did, heartily, the revolutionary war, they were attacked by the British from the coast, and by the Cherokees, who were in the service of the English ; but a brilliant victory being obtained over both, by the riflemen of Tennessee, the power of the British was destroyed in this quarter. The territory still, however, belonged to the colony or province of North Carolina.

In 1790, the whole of the area of what now forms the State of Tennessee, was ceded by North Carolina, to the general government of the United States ; and it was then erected into what is called a "Territory," such as Florida and Iowa now are, and such as nearly all the new States have been for a short period before they were regularly incorporated into the Federal Union. The Territorial government continued until 1795, when the inhabitants being found to amount to 77,262 persons, a Convention was held at Knoxville, in January 1796, and reported to the general government a form of Constitution, on which they had agreed for their new State. It was accordingly admitted into the Union, in June of the same year ; since when, its increase in towns and population has been equal to that of any of the south-western States.

The boundaries of Tennessee are, on the north, Kentucky ; on the south, Georgia, Alabama, and

Mississippi, each of which touch her southern frontier ; on the east, North Carolina ; and on the west, Arkansas, and the Mississippi river. The surface of the State is agreeably diversified ; in the east it is mountainous, in the centre hilly, and in the west slightly undulating and level. The geological formation is chiefly secondary ; except a portion of the eastern districts, which is transition, and the valleys are watered by alluvial streams. Limestone forms the principal bed of the whole : a large deposit of gypsum has been found. Among the minerals there are lead, alum, nitre, and copperas ; and silver, also, in small quantities, has been discovered. Coal is known to exist in large beds, though, as yet, wood supplies all the fuel required : saltpetre is an article of extensive traffic, and mineral and salt springs abound. The soil exhibits a great variety, between the rich dark loam of the west, and the clayey lands of the east : the forest-trees include oak, walnut, hickory, chesnut, poplar, sycamore, beech, locust, and sugar-maple. Many medicinal plants are found in it, as senna, ginseng, spikenard, anise, and snake-root ; and of fruits, there are apples, pears, peaches, nectarines, plums, and cherries ; with melons and grapes in the warmer valleys.

The chief rivers are the Tennessee and the Cumberland, both of which empty themselves into the Mississippi ; though there are at least a dozen smaller streams that water different parts of the State. The climate is temperate and healthy ; and the chief occupations of the people are agricultural. In the southern and western parts, cotton is the great staple ; tobacco is also grown ; and grain of all kinds,

as well as fine cattle, are exported to other States. The ratio of increase in the population up to the last census may be seen by the following table—

In 1800, Free	105,602	. . .	Slaves	13,584
1810, „	261,727	. . .	„	44,535
1820, „	420,813	. . .	„	80,107 .
1830, „	684,822	. . .	„	142,382
Present estimated Total Population . .				1,000,000

The largest towns in the State are Nashville, Knoxville, Clarkesville, Fayetteville, Murfreesburgh, Franklin, and Memphis. There are four colleges in the State, one at Nashville, one at Knoxville, one at Greenville, and one in Washington county, to all of which the State affords some assistance. Religious establishments are also numerous in proportion to the population. The Presbyterians are thought to be the most extensive, their numbers exceeding 100,000 ; but the late schism, which has divided them into Old School and New School, the former being rigid Calvinists, and the latter inclining to Arminianism, has divided the body. The Methodists are next in number, having about 50,000 members ; but among these also there is a division, the new class calling themselves Protestant Methodists, and the old branding them with the name of Radicals. The doctrines of both are the same ; but the old class stand up for the arbitrary power of the Conference, and the new school demand the right to regulate their own church-government, and are therefore what would be called Congregationalists or Independents. The Baptists have about 20,000 members ; the Episcopalians are very few ; of Catholics there are not many, though they abound in Kentucky, Ohio, and



the States farther west. There are also some Dunkers, who dress peculiarly, and wear their beards, of whom I saw several among the farmers at Blountsville.

The seat of government is at Nashville, nearly in the centre of the State ; and the Legislature consists of a House of Representatives of seventy-five members ; and a Senate of twenty-five members ; with a Governor ; all of whom are elected, by universal suffrage and vote by ballot, for two years. The pay of the members of both houses is four dollars per day while in session, which rarely exceeds two months in the year. The salary of the Governor is 2,000 dollars, or about 400*l.* sterling per annum ; and the only executive officers of his government are a Secretary of State, and a Treasurer, at salaries of 1,000 dollars a year each.

The Judiciary consists of three Judges of the the Supreme Court, with salaries of 1,800 dollars a year each, and three Judges of the Court of Chancery, at 1,500 dollars a year each ; there being one for each of the three districts into which the State is divided, called the Eastern, Western, and Middle Division. In addition to these, there are eleven Circuit Judges at 1,300 dollars a year each, who preside in the eleven Circuit Courts to which they are severally appointed. The Judges of the Supreme Court are elected by a joint vote of the two Houses of Legislature, for a term of twelve years ; and those of the inferior Courts, in the same manner for a term of eight years. Thus, every office in the State is elective ; and all power is literally derived from the people, with short periods of service, and frequent opportunities of accountability.

The whole annual expense of the government of this State, as large in area as England, is less than 50,000 dollars; or 10,000*l.* per annum; which is just the salary of a single member of Council in the East India Company's Government in Bengal; and less than the emoluments of a single Bishop, or even of some sinecurists, under the government of England. The expenses of the whole government of Tennessee are these: for the Governor and his Executive, 4,000 dollars; for the two Houses of the Legislature, 20,000 dollars; for the whole of the Judiciary, comprising the Supreme and Circuit Courts, 24,200 dollars; the whole sum being less than the single sinecure enjoyed by Lord Ellenborough, in the Patent Office, of Clerk of the Writs in the King's Bench, though the duty is performed by deputy. These are comparisons which force themselves on the mind, by the power of contrast; and in giving them utterance as they occur, it is done with a hope that they may draw attention to the duty of lessening the public burdens, by simplifying the forms and diminishing the expenses of government, which experience, in other countries, has shown to be as practicable as it is desirable, and which it would be as easy, as it would be found advantageous, to introduce gradually into our own country, if it were set about with an honesty of intention and earnestness of purpose, free from party motives, and without violence or injustice.

## CHAP. XII.

Journey from Tennessee to Virginia—Arrival at Abingdon—Hospitality—English family—Salt works—Manual labour school—National celebrations—Toasts and sentiments—National vanity—Abingdon museum—New wheat—Silk—Cotton—Public lands—America and Russia.

As our journey from Tennessee into Virginia was to be made by night—the mail-stage being the only conveyance, and that passing through here about midnight—we left our kind and hospitable entertainers in Blountsville, with a hope that we might some day or other meet again; and in an hour after we had set out, we passed the boundaries of the State, and entered on what is called “The Old Dominion.” This is the name by which the Virginians still delight to call their home, with reference to its more ancient settlement than that of any other part of the North American Continent, and of its forming part of the dominion of the virgin Queen Elizabeth, in honour of whom its present name was given.

We rode all night over a rocky and hilly road; and after a journey of twenty-three miles we reached the first town in the southern part of Virginia,

Abingdon, about seven o'clock, on the morning of Saturday the 27th of July. We felt so much fatigued after the rough roads we had traversed during the last fortnight, that we determined to rest here for a few days, to recruit our strength, and found tolerably comfortable accommodations at the principal hotel.

Abingdon is pleasantly situated, in an undulated part of the country, the town literally covering an extensive cave, containing a lake. A fine range, called the Iron Mountains, is seen on the east, being one of the many ridges that run southward from the Alleghanies. The town consists chiefly of one main street, and has about 200 houses, and from 1,600 to 1,800 inhabitants, including not more than 200 blacks employed chiefly as domestic servants in the town, though negro slaves are abundantly used in the cultivation of the surrounding country. There is a Court House at Abingdon, and three Churches, one Presbyterian of the old school, one Methodist of the old, and one of the new school. The Swedenborgians have a congregation, but no church. There are two hotels, several stores, and many pretty villa-residences in the neighbourhood. The Governor of the State, Mr. Campbell, resides at Abingdon, when the Legislature is not in session, but his official residence is at Richmond, the capital of the State. There is a newspaper published here weekly, of Whig politics, called "The Virginia Statesman," but there is no bookseller in the place.

On the Sunday after our arrival, we attended worship in the Methodist church, of the old school, where the congregation was about 100 whites, and

50 or 60 blacks, seated, as is universal in this country, in a gallery by themselves. The preacher was a primitive old man of eighty, dressed in a suit of grey cotton-cloth, with silvery-white hair, and feeble voice, but with a manner interesting from its simplicity, and impressive from its evident sincerity. His sermon was plain, practical, and well adapted to the congregation. The chief purport of it was to show, that while the Almighty had blessed this nation in a greater degree than almost every other country under heaven, giving to it everything that man could reasonably desire, rewarding the industry of its inhabitants with abundance, and preserving them in the enjoyment of the fruits of their toil—they were among the most ungrateful of the nations of the earth, to the Giver of all good. Instead of making large sacrifices of what they possessed, for the promotion of morality and religion in their own land, and in other regions of the earth, he told them they were all occupied in one continued struggle to acquire more; they attempted to do what the Scriptures had declared to be impossible, namely, to unite the worship of God and Mammon; but their love of the latter, he feared, prevailed. He denounced the luxurious habits of the times, the love of pomp and display, which infected all classes; and he invoked the female part of his audience especially, to consider this besetting sin. He said, “And ye! O ye fair sex! remember how the fair sex of Nineveh and Babylon, who were so delicate that they could scarcely bear to let their feet touch the ground, remember how they, by their pride and vanity of ornament and dress, brought down the wrath of heaven, and

destruction upon their cities and lands ; and though I would fain hope (but I dare not) that America will escape this calamity, and repent of her sins before it is too late ; yet, from the growing love of wealth, which seems to be the all-devouring passion of our country, and from the corruptions and sins which this is sure to bring in its train, I must believe, that unless this be repented of and abandoned, God will bring this nation also to the dust, and humble it as low as Tyre and Sidon of old."

At the close of the service, the preacher announced that he should be ready to meet the "coloured class of the communicants" at three o'clock in the afternoon, and the "white class" at four; the distinction being maintained as rigidly between the blacks and the whites in the ordinances of religion, and the sacrament of the Lord's supper, as in every other occupation—as if there were to be a higher heaven for the white race hereafter, and a lower heaven for the blacks, supposing them to be admitted there at all, for as to this, some entertain doubts.

We remained at Abingdon for five days, and during that period I delivered a short course of lectures in the Presbyterian church, which were more largely attended than we had expected, from the small population of the town. Among the auditors were Colonel Campbell, the governor of Virginia, and his family, and Colonel Preston, the senator from South Carolina, whom we had heard in the great debate on the Sub-Treasury Bill, in the Congress at Washington, and who was here on a visit with his family ; while many persons came from a considerable distance in the country, to attend the course.

Our stay at Abingdon was rendered peculiarly agreeable by the hospitable attentions which we received from Mr. Smith, an Englishman by birth, but who had been in this country since the year 1804; though he still retained all his attachment to his native land. We passed many agreeable hours with his interesting family, and met at his table many of the principal residents of the town and neighbourhood, many of whom were well educated and intelligent.

While here, we heard much of a fine natural bridge, in the south-west part of Virginia, in Scott county, distant about forty-five miles from this, in nearly a westerly direction. It is said to be superior in size and beauty to the well-known natural bridge of Virginia, in Rockbridge county, farther to the north-east, but being of comparatively recent discovery, and lying out of the general track of travellers, it has been very little visited. I should have made an excursion to it from hence, but that it was impossible to procure a conveyance out of the regular stage-road. It is said to be at least 600 feet in length, upwards of 400 in height, and to have two natural arches, separated by a pillar of rock in the centre, occupying the whole breadth of the valley.

Not far from Abingdon are some extensive salt-works, like those at Salina in the State of New York, near Syracuse, the shafts being of considerable depth before the brine springs are reached: but they are so profitable to the owners, that other adventurers are striking shafts near them, and it is believed the production of salt from them will speedily be doubled.

The system of manual-labour schools has lately been introduced into this part of Virginia, and a

school of this description has been established within about ten miles of Abingdon. It is called the "Amory and Henry College," the former being the name of a celebrated and popular bishop of Virginia, and the latter the name of their great revolutionary orator, Patrick Henry. There are at present upwards of 100 pupils in the establishment, which is conducted as nearly as practicable on the plan of Mr. Fellenberg's institution at Hoffwyl, in Switzerland. The boys have two hours' study before breakfast, four hours between breakfast and dinner, three hours labour in the field, garden, or workshop after dinner, and the evening is devoted to preparing the lessons for the ensuing day. The sum paid for board and tuition is a dollar and half per week, about a shilling per day, and they are allowed five cents, or about two-pence half-penny an hour, for all labour performed, as a set-off against these charges, so that the cost of educating a boy, who performs his three hours' labour per day regularly, is not more than fifty dollars, or about 10*l.* sterling a year, for board and tuition in every branch of useful learning. The Superintendent is Professor Collins, from the State of Maine, whom I had the pleasure to see, and who appears to feel the deepest interest in the success of the institution, and to be well qualified for presiding over it.

The Virginia newspapers that we saw here, the Richmond Enquirer of July 23d, and the Lynchburgh Virginian of July 25th, were filled with reports of the celebrations of the Fourth of July, in various parts of the "Old Dominion;" and some of the toasts were so remarkable, and will appear so new



to English readers, besides being highly characteristic of the taste of the people by whom they were given and received, that I transcribe a few of them. The ladies, it will be remembered, were addressed from the pulpit of Abingdon as the "fair sex," which, to our ears, sounded oddly enough, in a place devoted to religious worship; but here is a toast which shows an equally strange introduction of religion, in connection with the "fair sex," at a convivial meeting. It is this—

"*Woman—lovely Woman*; if she brought death into the world, she produced everlasting life through a Saviour."

Here is another strange quotation of a well-known passage of Scripture, taken from the solemn description of the day of judgment, and its application to a scene of convivial feasting, as a compliment to the innkeeper or landlord; and immediately preceding it is a political toast, in which the name of the Almighty seems to be "taken in vain." I place them in the order in which they stand in the paper from whence they are taken—

"*By John B. Secrist*.—May the People of the United States be satisfied with their present President, lest the Almighty in his wrath should give them a worse one."

"*By Dr. Pitticus Turner*.—Mr. John Luster, our host: 'We were hungry and he gave us meat, we were thirsty and he gave us drink' to overflowing, and good old wine at that."

The one that follows, also a compliment to the landlord, is in better taste; and shows, at the same time, of what a variety of politicians the meeting was composed.

"*By Francis S. Bogue*.—Our excellent and worthy host: Although his company is a mixture of Whigs, Conservatives, and

Loco Focos, yet he can well and truly say, that *to-day* we are all 'Destructives.'"

This mixture will account for the strange juxtaposition of the two following toasts, which were given in immediate succession, and 'apparently equally well received by the company, though containing the most opposite sentiments.

"*By Joseph Kyle*, (sent in.)—Wm. C. Rives: A disappointed aspirant, whose puny attempt, in his rage of mortified ambition, to lay Virginia at the feet of Henry Clay, calls forth the scorn and indignation of every patriot, which is fast hastening him on to his merited doom. Let his name be obliterated even from the remembrance of every Republican."

"*By John H. Roberts*. — Wm. C. Rives: Elevated and sustained by a high and disinterested patriotism, he looks down with pity upon the poor efforts which the adherents of power are making, to tarnish his fair fame, and drag him from his lofty eminence."

The ladies have their full share of eulogy at all these meetings, though it is customary here to deprecate their taking any part whatever in politics, or political assemblages. Here are a few only of the toasts devoted to them—

"*By Oliver P. Copeland*.—The Ladies: The fairest part of God's creation—The mainspring that impels man to action: While our arms are able to bear arms, we will protect their arms."

"*Woman, lovely Woman*.—Ever useful and dear to us, whether in prosperity or in adversity. Without her, life would be insupportable."

"*The Fair*.—The beauty of a fine woman is the only tyranny to which a man should submit."

Sometimes, the ladies themselves send toasts, to be proposed by gentlemen present; and of these the two

following will be regarded as curious, as well as the one by a bachelor which succeeds it.

*"By a Lady.*—Phrenology: May our children abound in bumps of discretion, and be free from all bumps of dissipation!"

*"Sent by a Lady.*—The Bachelor, 'solitary and alone in his glory.'"

*"By an Expectant Bachelor.*—Women and wine-presses: Sacred sources of sympathetic joy."

As, however, no meeting of Southern-men would be complete without some allusion to Southern Institutions, and some implied defence of Slavery, and denunciation of all who attempt its abolition, the three following are selected as specimens of such toasts, all having the same meaning, though differently expressed. The first is from Georgia; it was given at the Savannah Celebration, and was responded to by nine cheers; the second is from South Carolina, given at the Charleston Celebration; and the third is from Virginia, given at one of the County Celebrations.

*"Southern Rights and Southern Principles.*—They have acquired renovated strength from the sanction of time; and we have virtue and power enough to preserve and maintain them. Nine cheers—"Hail Columbia! happy land!"

*"The Atherton Resolutions of the last Congress.*—The Voice of the South has been responded to. Petitions cannot be received on subjects on which Congress has no power to act. Let the vote be adhered to with firmness and good faith."

*"By O. P. Copeland.*—Success to Mulberryism, Silkism, and all other kinds of isms—except Abolitionism."

The Atherton resolutions were those proposed by a member of that name, and carried by a large majority in the Congress, which declared that no petition on the subject of Slavery should thereafter be

read or debated in that assembly, as it was a subject wholly beyond the cognizance of the general Government; but belonged exclusively to the several States in which this "domestic institution" existed. These toasts were received with loud cheers, in assemblies which had met expressly to celebrate their own emancipation from "the yoke of tyranny;" after having heard, in the morning of that same day, the reading of the Declaration of Independence, in which it is asserted, that "All men are by nature born free and equal, and are justly entitled to the full enjoyment of life, liberty, and property." "Southern rights and Southern principles," another of the toasts, means the "right" to hold their fellow-men in bondage, and the "principle" that "Slavery is not a moral evil." This was responded to by the national air of

"Hail! Columbia! happy land!"

in which America is eulogized as the freest country under heaven!!

I had often had occasion to observe the national vanity of the people of this country, who, with the exception of the few that have travelled or resided in Europe, seem almost universally to believe that their countrymen are superior in arts, in arms, in literature, in science—but, above all, in *oratory*—to any people in the world; and they avail themselves of every occasion that presents itself, to make this boast. One of the most amusing specimens of this feeling was presented to us at Abingdon. A gentleman, having in the reading-room the "Richmond Inquirer," of July 5, read aloud from it the following paragraph—

“ We have seen in the ‘ London Observer ’ a very brief sketch of the debate upon the Earl of Winchelsea’s motion in the House of Peers, of the 31st May, calling upon Lord Melbourne to afford some explanation as to the principles on which he intended to conduct the government. The ‘ New York Commercial ’ promises to give the speeches of Lords Melbourne and Brougham in full. The former frankly admitted the difficulties with which he was surrounded, but declared that the Government could be conducted on none other than the principles of progress and reform. He was followed by Lord Brougham, who ridiculed the Ministers for the attempt to gain popularity for the Queen, upon the strength of Peel’s demand to dismiss the ladies of the bedchamber.—An American, who heard this speech, pronounces it one of the finest he ever heard, and Lord Brougham the most powerful debater he ever saw, and in ‘ senatorial gladiation ’ unequalled. This was regarded as one of his greatest efforts—and one of the most distinguished auditors declared that he had heard nothing like it for the last twenty or thirty years.”

On this, one of the hearers exclaimed, “ Well, then, I expect that this Lord Brougham comes the nearest to our Daniel Webster, of any man the English can produce.” To which the others signified their assent; but no one seemed to think that he did more than approach him “ at a considerable distance.” One of the party, and in his general conversation an intelligent man, said that Henry Clay had electrified the English Members of Parliament when he spoke before them in the House of Commons; and that Daniel Webster, who was now gone to England, would astonish them still more, and give them a sample of what true American oratory really was. I asked when Mr. Clay had spoken in the English House of Commons, and was told that it was when he was resident as American minister in London. I assured them that on no occasion did

foreign ministers or ambassadors appear in either House of Parliament in England as speakers ; but the gentleman who made this assertion really believed that in his diplomatic capacity he had appeared before the House, and excited the astonishment and admiration he described ! He still thought that an opportunity would be afforded to Daniel Webster to do the same. When they were informed, that among the Tory peers, Lord Lyndhurst was the most equal match for Lord Brougham, they felt this to be a confirmation of their confidence in their national superiority, as they claimed Lord Lyndhurst as an American, though they would rather have had him to be a Virginian than a Bostonian, as then he would have ranked with Patrick Henry, Washington, and Jefferson.

During our stay at Abingdon, we visited the Museum of Mr. Hickman, a resident here, who has collected from the neighbouring mountains, several of the animals, birds, and reptiles, found in this State, as well as mineralogical specimens and Indian relics. Among the former was one of the cougars, or American panthers, seven feet in length, and two feet in height. In shape it resembled the panther, or leopard, of Asia ; but instead of being spotted as these are, its fur was of a light greyish-brown, like the colour of the common ass. The skin of a much larger animal of the same species was shown us, about eleven feet in length, but this was not yet stuffed. There was a large black wolf, of fierce aspect, and great strength ; a racoon, a red and a grey fox, a badger, and a black and white spotted skunk, all caught in the neighbouring mountains, with many

squirrels, and some others from the streams of the vallies. Among the birds, a large brown eagle, approaching almost to black, and measuring six feet across from wing to wing when spread out, was the finest specimen, and a large rattlesnake was the best among the reptiles. The mineralogical specimens embraced granite from the primitive mountains on the east of us, and in sight from the town, being portions of the great chain of the Alleghanies, transition rocks from the hills on the west, also within sight of the town, but not so elevated; the former being about 3,500 to 4,000 feet high, and the latter about 2,500 above the sea; Abingdon itself having an elevation of about 1,800 feet.

From the loftiest points of some of the ranges of intermediate hills, at least 2,000 feet above the level of the sea, Mr. Hickman had obtained specimens of fossil shells, large masses of which were pressed together with scarcely any intervening space or substance, like those seen in the rocks on the banks of the river Genessee, near the Lake Ontario. There were also found in the same range of hills fine specimens of fossil ferns of a large size; sharks' teeth of two inches in length, and one inch in breadth at the root; and a very perfect specimen of the Briarean pentacrinite, a fossilized animal, allied to the encrinite, but distinguished from it by having a series of vertebræ, composing a spiral column, with flexible ribs going off from it on either side, like snakes or eels, or like the hundred arms of Briareus, from whence, no doubt, its name.

The neighbourhood of Abingdon is beautifully undulated, sufficiently wooded, well cultivated, healthy,

and agreeable ; and we learnt, from a gentleman who had resided here for twenty summers in succession, passing his winters at Augusta, that the thermometer rarely exceeded 80°, in the months when it was 95° and even 100° in the low country and on the sea-coast. He usually came up with his family from Augusta in May, and returned to it again in October ; and from his description, nothing can be more enchanting than the journey at each of these periods of the year. In the former month, as they crossed the Blue Ridge in Buncombe, and passed from North Carolina into Tennessee, all the mountains were covered with flowers—the rhododendron, the kalmia, and the azalea, of which last there were not less than twenty varieties in a single mountain, the azalea glauca, or fragrant honeysuckle, being the most abundant. The sight of so many thousands of flowering trees and shrubs, all in full bloom at once, as well as the delicious odour with which they filled the air, made a journey across the mountains in the month of May peculiarly delightful.

The return-journey, in October, presented a very different, but scarcely less agreeable aspect ; for then the woods and forests were dressed in all the richest livery of autumn ; and one must have seen with his own eyes, as we did in the mountains of Vermont and New Hampshire, during the last fall of the leaf in the North, the indescribable gorgeousness of an American forest decked in its glowing autumnal tints, to comprehend how rich and beautiful the aspect of nature at this season may really be.

Provisions of every kind abound here, as excellent in quality as they are profuse in quantity, and cheap



in price. At the table of the English gentleman who entertained us so hospitably, we partook of the finest mutton, poultry, and vegetables, that we had yet seen in the United States; and the butter and milk were richer and sweeter than any we had tasted since leaving England. The price of the two hind-quarters, or the best half of a good-sized sheep, was one dollar only; a large turkey might be had for a quarter of a dollar; and the common price of poultry was eight ducks for a dollar, and twelve fowls for the same sum, equivalent, therefore to about sixpence each for the former, and fourpence each for the latter. The potatoes were the finest we had seen in the country, quite equal, indeed, to the best English or Irish potatoes, and well sustaining the character of their native State, as it was from Virginia, I believe, that the potato was first introduced into England by Sir Walter Raleigh. These, and the turkeys, of which Virginia furnished also the first supply to Britain, have neither of them degenerated in this State, from their ancient and original stock. I can hardly conceive a more eligible spot for an emigrant family from England, with small means, to settle in, than at Abingdon, or in its neighbourhood; but very few new settlers, we were told, ever came this way.

A new kind of wheat has been lately introduced into this part of Virginia, called the Rock Wheat, from the circumstance that a few years ago a single head of wheat, of peculiarly large size and product, was seen growing out of the crevice of a rock in a wheat-field. The head was carefully preserved, and the grain sown. The produce of this being consi-

derable, it was divided into several parcels, and these again sown by other gentlemen; and their produce was sold for three dollars a bushel, as seed-wheat, being about double the current price of ordinary grain. One statement of the result of this last sowing, is, that it has produced at the rate of forty-seven bushels to the acre, and many of the heads have been found to contain forty-five grains of wheat, of the most excellent quality. Another statement of the result in another place, is, that from three bushels sown, about 150 bushels have been produced, making a return of fifty-fold; and the general expectation is, that it will on the average produce from forty to fifty bushels to the acre. If this should be generally cultivated, of which there is little reason to doubt, the agricultural wealth of the country will be greatly augmented thereby.

The planting of the *morus multicaulis*, and the rearing of silkworms for the production of silk, is beginning to be introduced here, as in other parts of America, and can hardly fail to add largely to the national resources, more especially as its cultivation is not confined by climate to particular States, like cotton, rice, sugar, and tobacco, but may be extended from Maine to Florida, and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. It is said here, that a gentleman from Glasgow has recently arrived in Georgia, for the purpose of purchasing land, and introducing the culture of silk, to supply the large manufacturing establishments of Scotland with that article; and the following extract from a letter dated on the Mississippi river, in May last, describing a visit made by the writer to a large silk-factory at Mount Pleasant,

ten miles from Wheeling, on the Ohio, will show what progress is making in this article far in the West—

“I found Messrs. White and Gill actively engaged in forwarding their operations in the growth of the mulberry and the production of silk. Their new cocoonery was nearly completed, and the hatching of the worms in rapid progress. 70,000 were hatched, and had commenced feeding on the white mulberry; 300,000 more will complete the hatching of the first crop. The second crop will consist of from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 worms; all to be fed on the white and Dandola mulberry, as their *morus multicaulis* is not yet sufficiently advanced for that purpose. They have about 150,000 of the *morus multicaulis* now coming forward; part of which will be for sale the ensuing fall.

“In one room of the establishment, I found young ladies reeling from the cocoon. In the other room the looms were going up. One was in readiness to weave a web of silk velvet. The superintending weaver is a man of great dexterity in the art. He wove at Economy, near Pittsburg, from American silk, the beautiful vest that was lately presented to ex-governor Ritner, and which has been so justly extolled by the American press. His son, before leaving England, wove the beautiful dress which was worn by Queen Adelaide on certain occasions, and which contained fifty yards! I saw a sample of it. You would pronounce it one of the finest specimens of embroidery you ever saw; and yet it was woven in a loom like that used for weaving Turkey carpets. The colours of the flowers are beautifully arranged, and produce such an effect, that you cannot divest yourself of the idea that they are the rarest specimens of Chinese needlework.

“I confess that from a sceptic in the utility of the silk manufacture in America, I am converted to the belief that it will at no distant time become one of our most important branches of industry. It is very lucrative; not laborious; and can be carried on with the labour of almost all ages and both sexes.—And if one occupation may be considered more *genteel* than another, this is one in which the most fastidious will not object to engage.”

It is impossible not to be deeply impressed with the conviction of the future opulence and populous-

ness of this, as yet, infant country—with its mineral wealth, in coal, iron, lead, silver, and gold, every day developing their stores in new quarters—its vast resources in agricultural produce of every kind, continually on the increase;—and its rivers, canals, and railroads opening up new facilities of communication. The following statement, drawn up from official returns, and of undoubted accuracy as to its details, speaks volumes on this subject—

**INCREASE OF THE GROWTH OF COTTON.**—In the year 1791 the amount of cotton exported from the United States was 188,316 lbs; in 1798 it was not quite 1,900,000 lbs; in 1802 it was 27,501,075 lbs; in 1819 it was 87,997,045 lbs; in 1820 it was 127,860,152 lbs; in 1830 it was 298,459,102 lbs. The amount exported in 1838 was upwards of 639,000,000 lbs; leaving for home consumption 98,000,000 lbs; the whole crop, in round numbers, being estimated at 737,000,000 lbs, which, at fourteen cents per pound, would be worth more than a hundred millions of dollars. This is a greater amount than ever was produced from all the gold and silver mines in the whole world in one year.

And yet not a hundredth part of the cultivable surface of the United States is cleared of its primeval forests, so that its agricultural and mineral wealth may be increased a hundred-fold beyond their present amount, when the country shall be fully peopled. Here is the latest official statement as to the extent of the territory possessed by the United States.

“The public lands ceded to the United States in each of the States and Territories, amount to more than three hundred millions of acres. If, to the quantity unsold lying within the limits of the States, the amount in the territories and regions beyond be added, the aggregate, according to the official statement of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, will exceed nine hundred millions of acres.”

The area of Great Britain and Ireland may be taken, in round numbers, at fifty-six millions of acres, making the landed property of America, therefore, about sixteen times as extensive as that of Great Britain; and with a greater variety of soil, climate, and production, fewer heaths and barren spots unfit for cultivation, and inexhaustible resources for agriculture, mining, manufactures, and commerce.

America, therefore, like Russia, possesses almost unlimited sources of natural wealth; but whether in either of these colossal nations, the one a pure despotism, the other a free republic, the character of the people will be improved or deteriorated by the facility with which this wealth can be acquired and appropriated by individuals, time alone can develop. Nothing can be more opposite than the institutions of the two countries, yet their resemblance in position is striking, as both are rising from infancy into the vigour of manhood, and each must have a potent voice in controlling the future destinies of nations, as the progressive development of their resources shall lead to an increase of their population, their intelligence, and their power. May freedom, justice, and peace prevail!

## CHAP. XIII

Journey from Abingdon to the Virginia Springs—Women smoking—Provincial expressions—Coach contractor—Enclosed sycamores for cemeteries—Buck-eye tree—Buckwheat—Partridges or quails—Galbraith—Newbern—Large grazing-farm—Mountain flowers—Trees—Methodist camp-meeting—Pheasants—Ruffed grouse—Giles Court House—Country-towns—New River—Sycamores—Peter's Town—Rude inscription—Barbarous settlers—Arrival at the Red Sulphur Springs.

WE left Abingdon on the morning of Thursday, the 1st of August, for the Virginia Springs, at 8 A. M., by the public stage. For several miles beyond the town, our route lay along the great north-eastern road, and the country presented a succession of beautiful landscapes, with an improved style of cultivation. We, found, too signs of increasing comfort, in the substitution of brick buildings for wooden tenements in many places, while fine cornfields and fruitful orchards generally lined the road.

At half-past two we reached an inn, at a place called Seven-Mile Ford, the situation of which was beautifully romantic, but both the hotel and its keeper, a fat colonel, were dirty in the extreme. We were asked here, for the first time on the road, to drink ardent spirits before dinner, this being the practice of the colonel himself, and one which he

recommended to all his guests. I was happy to perceive, however, that every one declined it, and I was assured by some of our fellow-passengers, that in this there has been a manifest and extensive reform, within the last few years, which they attributed chiefly to the change in public opinion, brought about by the efforts of the Temperance Societies. It was now thought disreputable to drink spirits, whereas a few years ago it was almost a universal practice among the men, and was looked upon as no more improper than the use of tobacco.

By the way, I had remarked that since our entrance into Virginia, the original seat of the tobacco plant, there were fewer persons who chewed this stimulating weed, than in any of the Southern States through which we had lately travelled. Smoking was, however, very general; but instead of the cigar, so common everywhere else, the pipe was here more frequent; and this was constructed of a clay bowl of the ordinary shape and size, with a long thin hollow tube of cane for its stem. We saw many women using such pipes, as openly and freely as the men, a practice we had nowhere else observed among the sex, but which we were told was not at all uncommon here. Among the peculiarities of expression, we observed that baggage is very generally called "*plunder*," and it sounded oddly enough to hear the inn-keeping colonel say to us—"Why, you and your family seem to require a pretty considerable deal of *plunder* to carry with you." Horses are called "*critturs*," and we several times heard the expression—"There is no getting a *crittur* for love or money; they are all employed *hauling* oats." The

word "tote" is used to signify carry ; and you hear the driver say—"Here, you nigger-fellow, *tote* this lady's *plunder* to her room." Up-stairs is pronounced "up-starrs;" the words bear and fear, are pronounced "barr" and "farr;" and one passenger was told "The room *up-starrs* is quite *preparred*, so that your *plunder* may be *toted* there whenever *you've a mind*."

After a better meal than we had expected to get in so dirty a house, and from such filthy attendants, we resumed our journey at four, and, proceeding through an equally fine country to that passed in our morning's drive, we reached Smith's Court House at six ; went on from thence to a spot called "The Pleasant Bank," which we reached at nine, the darkness of the night scarcely enabling us to see whether its scenery, or what other cause, gave it its prepossessing name ; and passing, soon after, the station of Mount Airy, we reached, at two in the morning, the village of Wythe Court House. We had been thus eighteen hours in coming a distance of fifty-four miles, so that the public mail, for the conveyance of which the contractors receive forty dollars per mile per annum, was here conveyed at the rate of three miles an hour ! We found but wretched accommodations, and passed a most uncomfortable *night*.

Previously to our retiring to rest, we had contracted with the stage-coach proprietor to furnish us an extra coach with four horses, for our journey to Newbern, twenty-eight miles distant, where the line of stages for the Virginia Springs commences its progress, and it was agreed that we should give him twelve dollars to carry us these twenty-eight miles,



and twelve dollars for the coach to return ; as it was contended that with the same pair of horses it would require a day to go, and a day to come back. To this we assented, and having the whole day before us for our short journey, and not having gone to bed till three in the morning, we slept till eight, and were not ready for breakfast till nine. Here we witnessed the characteristic operation of a large house-dog being sent in chase of a chicken, which he caught in his mouth and brought to the cook, who forthwith killed, plucked, dissected, and fried the same for our use ; the whole operation, from the catching to the serving up, occupying less than half an hour of time. This delayed our breakfast till half-past nine, the usual hour of this meal in the country being six o'clock. The delay was now made a reason, on the part of the coach-contractor, for declining to carry us farther than twenty miles, because, as he said, we were setting out in the middle of the day, and his horses could never reach Newbern by sunset, and it would knock them up to travel after. We appealed to his contract, and argued, that whether horses set out at six and halted at six, or began their journey at ten and ended it at ten, it was but twelve hours in either case, and twelve hours was abundantly sufficient to go twenty-eight miles. But we were in his power ; there was no other person who had a coach but himself, and the public stage had gone by. He said, therefore, he could only do this ;—take us twenty miles with this team of four horses, then engage a new team to take us the other eight miles, and so charge us another half-day, or six dollars, for the extra team. We had no alter-

native; though, when we stated this to be an extortion, wholly unwarranted, and practised on us because we had no remedy, he frankly replied, "I go for making money, and nothing else, and every time I find a good opportunity of doing so, I shan't let it slip;" at which, all the by-standers laughed approbation; and some few said, "That's right," and "So would I:" but no one uttered a word of disapprobation.

The truth is, this passion for the acquisition of money is much stronger and more universal in this country than in any other under the sun, at least that I have visited; and in proportion to the strength of the passion, so is the weakness of conscientiousness, or the sense of justice, among all ranks. If money can be made honestly, it is well; but if it cannot be made without breaking down some of the barriers which conscience opposes to its acquisition in the minds of honourable men, these must be demolished, and the money acquired; till, at length, the perpetual indulgence of the passion, at all hazards, causes it to increase, like the propensity of gambling, of dram-drinking, or any other vice, till it becomes ungovernable, and sweeps all before it!

The crowning piece of duplicity in this transaction was reserved for disclosure at the end of our journey. We had agreed to pay 24 dollars to be driven 20 miles, and an extra 6 dollars was demanded, because at the end of these 20 miles it would be necessary, according to the statement of the stage-contractor, to get a new team, from the impossibility of the first team going further. It was for this alone that the extra 6 dollars were demanded and paid. Yet when we

reached the end of our 20 miles, we found there was no new team there ; that the stage-contractor himself knew this ; and that he had, secretly and unknown to us, told the driver, when he arrived at the end of the 20 miles, to give his team a feed of corn and an hour's rest, and drive them the remaining eight miles of the way, as it must be no difference to the passengers, whether they were taken on by the old team or a new one ! Wherever this was known along the road, or told by us afterwards, it was regarded only as a clever stroke of business ; and Mr. Robertson, the perpetrator of this fraud and extortion, for so every just mind would consider it, was called "a smart man," who "knew what he was about," and was "very well fitted for his business." Such is the low state of morality, and the low standard of honour and fair-dealing, when money is to be made.

We left Wythe Court House at 10 o'clock, and proceeded by a hilly and rocky road to the north-east. Soon after our setting out, we observed in the fields a large sycamore-tree, with wide-spreading branches, enclosed with a neat palisade, and was told that this was a very usual way of forming a rustic cemetery, which was confirmed by our seeing several graves within the enclosure. In one of the valleys that we crossed, several terrapins, or fresh-water turtles, were seen, and water-snakes also, of a small size. The tree called the buck-eye, the *æsculus glabra*, was here first seen by us, growing to a height of about thirty feet, and having a fine foliage. It is so abundant in the neighbouring State of Kentucky, (once included as the western part of Virginia,) that the Kentuckians are often called "buck-eyes."

In a few of the fields, also, we saw the buckwheat growing, from the grain of which are made the buckwheat cakes, so well known in all parts of America, as a favourite appendage to the breakfast table, both in the northern, southern, and western States. It is the *polygonum fagopyrum* of the botanists, so called from the three-cornered seed which it produces. It is not cultivated in very large quantities, nor is it ever exported; but it is a very favourite grain in the country, for the purpose described. It has a broad green leaf, and a small whitish flower; and looks rather like a shrub or plant than any description of corn. We saw here, also, a number of the small birds, called partridges by some, and quails by others; but more nearly resembling the quails of Arabia than the partridges of England, in size, form, and colour. They appeared very tame, and are said to form excellent food; but the people of the country are so satisfied with their daily fare of coarse fat bacon and beans, (called here, "snaps,") that few give themselves the trouble to shoot birds for their table.

About two o'clock, we passed a stream called Reed's Creek, one of the small tributaries to the New River, which runs into the Ohio; and ascending a steep hill beyond this, we had a fine view of the mountains beyond us. We reached Galbraith, twenty miles distance, about four o'clock; and partook of a most comfortable dinner at one of the cleanest and nicest houses on the road, kept by a Mr. Howe, who was as civil and obliging, as the country innkeepers are generally the reverse. Our horses having been fed and rested while we took our meal, they were

reharnessed, and took us on the extra eight miles without difficulty, though the stage-contractor had insisted upon the impossibility of their performing the journey ; and exacted an extra six dollars for an imaginary new team, which had no existence but in his fertile and extortionate invention.

We reached Newbern about eight o'clock ; having been, therefore, ten hours in performing the twenty-eight miles ; of which, however, we had less reason to complain than of the wretched beds and swarms of bugs which we had to encounter at the inn there, and which rendered it impossible to procure the refreshment of sleep.

It was with more than usual pleasure, therefore, that we received the early summons of the stage-driver at three o'clock in the morning ; to which we promptly responded, as a relief from an imprisonment ; and by daylight, about four o'clock, we were fairly on our way. The road still continued rocky and hilly, so that our progress was never more than three miles an hour, with four good horses, and a comparatively light coach. Not far from Newbern, we saw for the first time in this quarter an extensive grazing-farm, the rich green grass of which, so unusual to the eye, was particularly refreshing and agreeable, and reminded us more of home than any thing we had seen for some time. Vast herds of cattle are driven up here from the southern and western parts of the State—we saw as many as 600 at least in one drove—to be pastured and fattened for the eastern markets ; and it is thought to be more profitable even than planting, though capital invested in that yields from 25 to 30 per cent ; but in grazing

it is said to realize 50 to 60 per cent, on the average of many years running.

From this farm, we ascended a steep hill, up which the passengers had to walk ; but the splendid view from the summit was an ample reward. In the woods here, the rhododendron, the kalmia, and the vine, were as abundant as on the mountains of North Carolina and Tennessee, and must make a journey this way in the months of May and June enchanting. Among the trees were many of the fine wide spreading hemlock and black-spruce ; the former, the *pinus Canadensis*, and the latter the *pinus nigra*, of the botanists. The hemlock-tree grows to the height of from seventy to eighty feet, and attains a thickness of at least six feet in circumference: its spreading horizontal branches, and its feathery foliage, not unlike the cedar of Lebanon, makes it a beautiful object. The black-spruce is valued for the lightness and elasticity, or springiness of its timber, which makes it a favourite wood for the masts and yards of schooners and small vessels. In these vallies it grows chiefly by the water-courses, and on the richest soil of the hills it is also found ; it is said that an examination of its concentric circles proves it to require 200 years to bring it to maturity, so that it is a long-lived tree. The black-spruce does not grow so lofty as the hemlock-tree: about forty to fifty feet being the maximum height of the former, and seventy to eighty feet the altitude of the latter. They are both beautiful trees, from their wide-spreading lower limbs, graceful foliage, and pyramidal form ; and the bark of each is extensively used in tanning.

The rock of these hills is chiefly blue and grey limestone ; and we saw here several kilns for burning lime, as well as tan-pits for consuming the oak and spruce bark. In some parts there were fine slabs of white marble, of which, no doubt, quarries might be opened here, were the demand for it as a building material, such as to justify the expense. Charcoal is made here from the wood in great abundance ; so that the mineral and vegetable products are each turned to good account.

From hence we descended into a deep gorge, or hollow, where immense masses of rock had been disjoined from the cliffs above, and had encumbered the narrow ravine in the most romantic manner ; a gurgling stream of water ran along the centre, and many noble trees shaded it. After a short ascent from this, we came to an inn, or farm-house, at which we were to breakfast about seven ; having done the twelve miles in three hours, which was thought a great feat by our loquacious driver.

The situation of this house, like that of most of our halting-places in these mountains, was eminently picturesque, and the surrounding scenery beautiful. It was, however, a solitary spot ; as there were but few neighbours, and these at distances of several miles for the nearest. There was no school for the children, and no church for worship. Occasional preachers of the Methodist body sometimes journeyed this way, and a sermon might be had probably once a month, but not oftener, and that chiefly in the summer season. Deer abounded here in the mountains, so that good venison could always be had ; tobacco was grown for their own use in the

garden; of which we saw several plants, and gathered some leaves and flowers; and for the rest, hogs, maize, beans, and milk, made up the general sum of their supplies.

We left this inn, Shannon's, at 9 A. M., and again ascended a very steep hill, on which the oak, the chesnut, and the buck-eye were the most frequent trees, and these, we were told, were generally indicative of a fertile soil. Here also we saw several of the birds which the Americans call pheasants, but which is generally considered to be the "ruffed grouse." It is certainly inferior in beauty as well as in size to the English pheasant, and has about its neck a fulness of feather, which, when distended or puffed up, horizontally or erect, may well justify the name given to it from its appearance. Hinton relates the following characteristics of this bird and its habits, which, as far as I could ascertain from the natives whom we consulted on the subject, appear perfectly correct, and is sufficiently interesting to be transcribed—

"What is commonly called the pheasant in Pennsylvania and the Southern States, is the ruffed grouse. Its favourite places of resort are high mountains, covered with the balsam-pine, hemlock, and similar evergreens. Unlike the pinnated grouse, it always prefers the woods, is seldom or never found in open plains, but loves the pine-sheltered declivities of mountains near streams of water. The pinnated grouse avoids wet and swampy places, and are remarkably attached to dry ground; the low and open bush is preferred to high shrubbery and thickets. Into these latter places they fly for refuge when closely pressed by the hunters, and here, under a stiff and impenetrable cover, they escape the pursuits of dogs and men. During the time of mating, and while the females are occupied in incubation, the males have a practice of



assembling by themselves. To some select and central spot, where there is very little underwood, they repair from the adjoining district, and from the exercises performed there, this is called 'the scratching place.' As soon as the light appears, the company assembles, sometimes to the number of forty or fifty. When the dawn is past, the ceremony begins, by a low tooting from one of the cocks; this is answered by another, and they then come forth, one by one, from the bushes, and strut about with all the pride and ostentation they can display. Their necks are circurved, the feathers on them are erected into a sort of ruff, the plumes of their tails are extended like fans, and they strut about in a style, as nearly as small may be illustrated by great, the pomp of the turkey-cock; they seem to vie with each other in stateliness, and as they pass each other, frequently cast looks of insult and utter notes of defiance. These are the signals for battles, in which they engage with wonderful spirit and fierceness, and during which they leap a foot or two from the ground, and utter a cackling, screaming, and discordant cry. After the appearance of the sun they disperse. These places of exhibition have often been discovered by the hunters, who have freely availed themselves of the facilities thus afforded for the destruction of the birds."

Near the middle of the hill we were ascending, but close by the main road, was a large collection of log-sheds, pens, and small buildings, without a creature near them, though they covered several acres of ground, and enclosed an open parallelogram. These we learnt were the buildings belonging to one of the Methodist conferences, at which a camp-meeting was held every year, generally in August or September, when all the harvest business is over. Our informant said he had seen 5,000 or 6,000 persons assembled here from all parts of the surrounding country; and sometimes scenes of such extravagance were enacted, and such violent groans and screams were uttered, accompanied with faintings and hysterics, that it

would give a stranger an idea of an Indian attack upon an encampment, with scalpings and tomahawkings, rather than a devout religious meeting.

At a distance of twenty-two miles from Newbern, we reached Giles Court House, a substantial brick building, with a tower, executed in good taste; but the other buildings were among the poorest we had lately seen. We made no stay here, except to change horses, but went up from the village over a very steep hill, from the top of which we looked down on the stream of the New River and its picturesque valley. In the rich bottom land, to which we afterwards descended from hence, the trees were of prodigious growth; some American poplars—a very different tree from the Lombardy poplar—being fifteen feet in girth.

On reaching the banks of the New River, we had to enter a flat-bottomed boat, which took the coach and horses across without unharnessing. The stream was here about 200 feet across, but the river was lower by 20 feet than usual, from the long drought. Its banks were lined with large and beautiful sycamore trees, which flourish best on the margin of streams, and whose wide-spreading roots form an excellent barrier for the embankments. This is the head-water of the Western river called the Great Kenhawa, which runs into the Ohio. In the winter it is so frozen over, that waggons of great weight pass across it daily. On the opposite bank, at a distance of some fifty yards from the stream, was one of the largest and most beautiful weeping-willows I had ever seen; but it hung its drooping branches over a wretchedly dilapidated and dirty dwelling, disgraceful to its occupant. Some of our

party feeling hungry here, were desirous of procuring bread, but none was to be had. The country-people use little or no wheaten flour; the meal of Indian corn is substituted for it; and "corn-bread," as this is called, is always eaten hot. No more, therefore, is baked at any time than is thought to be necessary for a meal; and if any is left after the meal is over, it is not reserved for future use, but a fresh supply is had for each meal. Neither is it the custom to keep cold-dressed meats or poultry of any kind; so that on arriving at an inn, or a private house, nothing can be had on the sudden; everything has to be prepared; and we never yet had the slightest meal got up, even in the greatest haste, in less than an hour. Orchards, however, were abundant, and the permission of the owner of those near the house was asked, to gather of their produce; a permission which was freely given, with an expression of surprise that it should be thought necessary to ask it, as every one here takes what he pleases for his own eating, from any orchard or garden in his way, and custom attaches to this no idea of wrong.

We went from hence for some time along the banks of the river, which strikingly resembled the French Broad, in North Carolina, especially in the views we obtained of it from elevated points. A few miles brought us to a wretched assemblage of log-houses, called Peterstown, the name of the first innkeeper, whose sign was still up: "Private Entertainment for Travellers, by I. Peters." I asked the distinction between this, and public entertainment, and was told there was none, except that by calling it private, he evaded the payment of the usual fee for a license,

which all public houses required. It was here, we saw the following Inscription, copied *verbatim et literatim* from a red directing board for the road

TO THE REDSULPHUR

SPRING—8 M  $\frac{1}{2}$  :—

meaning, To the Red Sulphur Spring, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  miles.

The dwellings and the people we saw, from this onward for several miles, were among the dirtiest we had yet met with. The men seemed as if they did not shave more than once a month, or wash more than once a year; the women looked as though a comb never went through their hair, or soap and water over their skins; and the children, though they were all clothed, never had their garments mended, and were as ragged as they were dirty. Yet they were all of the white race; and no negroes, Indians, or savages among the wildest tribes of Africa or Australia, could possibly be dirtier, or apparently more indolent, than they were. It is indeed to this latter vice, that all their defects are to be traced. With a fine soil, a fine climate, good health, and sufficient means to cultivate their grounds, they could hardly fail, if they were industrious, to lay by a surplus every year and progressively get rich; but having negro slaves to do their work, they seem to think labour an evil to be studiously avoided; so that their dwellings and persons are dirty, and comfortless in the extreme.

After a few hours' ride over the roughest roads imaginable, we passed the Grey Sulphur Springs, and nine miles beyond these arrived at the Red Sulphur about seven o'clock.

## CHAP. XIV.

Red Sulphur Springs—Agreeable society—Picturesque valley—Virginia table-fans—Blowing caves—Falls of the Kenhawa—Singular lake on the summit of the Alleghanies—Grey Sulphur Springs—Carolinian visitors—Contrast of the southern and northern watering-places—Salt Sulphur Springs—Indian Creek—Ancient territory of the Cherokees—Tobacco plant—Political walking-stick—Sugar maple—Cave near the road—Salt Sulphur Springs—Description of the valley—Curious caterpillar—Union court-house—Mammoth oak—Sign-board—Hieroglyphics—Rural population—Woodpigeons.

WE remained at the Red Sulphur Springs for two days, and enjoyed the repose of body, serenity of mind, and delightful social intercourse with the visitors, as sailors do their first day in port after a long and stormy passage, or as pilgrims and caravan-travellers enjoy their first halt in green fields, shade, and water. For though we had experienced much of pleasure in our late tour through Georgia, North and South Carolina, and Tennessee, from the grandeur and beauty of Nature in her mountain-majesty, yet this had been purchased at an unexpectedly great sacrifice of personal comfort in almost every form. We had practically felt all the sufferings (for inconveniences is too slight a term) that bad vehicles, bad roads, bad beds, bad fare, and dirty and uncivil attendants could inflict; so that the contrast which the pleasures of this delightful watering-place presented to us was literally delicious, and we enjoyed it to the full.

Our first day's stay heré being Sunday, we attended public worship, which was held in the ball-room of the hotel. The service was conducted after the English Episcopalian ritual, by a clergyman of South Carolina, whose sermon was excellent. It embodied the more cheering view of the doctrines of Christianity, so as to lead the minds of his hearers rather by hope than by fear, to believe in the doctrines, and practise the precepts of the gospel. Nearly all the visitors of the place attended. Service was repeated, in the afternoon, with an equally full audience; and the evening was spent in walks, social visits, and conversation. Altogether it appeared to be a very happy day to all parties; and to us it was peculiarly so, from our meeting here with friends from New York and Albany on the one hand, and from New Orleans, Savannah, and Charleston on the other—embracing, therefore, the northern and southern extremes of the country; while from the intermediate cities of Philadelphia and Baltimore we met several others, whose renewed intercourse was peculiarly agreeable.

On the second day we made a more minute examination of the valley and its contents, as well as its neighbourhood; and learnt from others more conversant with the surrounding country many interesting particulars. We slept well, breakfasted heartily, and passed the day agreeably, talking with persons from various States, and of different professions, on a great diversity of topics, the politics and prospects of England included: for English newspapers by the Great Western and the British Queen had found their way even to this remote spot, and the evening

was closed by an agreeable social ball, in which all the younger portion of the company joined, commencing at eight and ending at ten o'clock, so that every one had retired early, and all were steeped in profound repose before midnight.

This hotel at the Red Sulphur Springs is not more than seven years old. The mineral water here was known before that period, and resorted to by invalids ; but there was merely a rude house with very inferior accommodation. About the period named, the present proprietor, Mr. Burke, a Scotsman, we were told, purchased the place, and began the work of providing the requisite accommodation, since which he has from year to year expended large sums, amounting in the whole to more than 100,000 dollars, and is amply rewarded for his enterprise by the possession of an extremely beautiful and commodious establishment, a large and yearly increasing number of visitors, and a handsome profit on his outlay.

The valley in which the Springs are situated is very small, running nearly north and south, being in length not more than half a mile, and in breadth from hill to hill not more than 1,000 feet in any part, and in some not more than 500. The platform of the valley is elevated about 2,500 feet above the level of the ocean ; and the hills on either side rise from 300 to 400 feet above this, being steep and rocky. They are sufficiently wooded to be agreeable to the eye ; but by their precipitous rise, and close proximity, they prevent either the morning or the evening sun from being seen, and this makes the valley very favourable to the coolness and freshness so much sought for in the summer.

In this valley the two springs rise out of solid masses of rock within ten feet of each other. Over the orifice of each has been constructed a sort of square well, above ground, enclosed with four upright white marble slabs. Around these is built a platform, and the whole is enclosed within an octagonal building of wood, open on all sides, with a dome-like roof, supported by pillars; the interior being fitted with commodious seats for visitors. It is called the Red Sulphur Spring, because a reddish deposit is observed on the rock at the bottom of the well; but the water itself is quite transparent, delightfully cold, and only slightly sulphureous in taste or smell. The nature of this deposit is not yet accurately ascertained; by some it has been thought to be an oxide of iron; others have observed that it is only precipitated, when the beams of the sun play for some time on the water; and one distinguished chemist has pronounced it be a very minute cryptogamous plant. It is, however, quite inconsiderable in quantity, and is never taken in the water that is drank, this being perfectly clear. As the water rises from the springs, the surplus is carried off by pipes to the baths, where hot or cold sulphur water may be had at any hour. The water is also bottled, and sent to a great distance; and by retaining the sulphuretted hydrogen gas, if bottled at the Spring, it preserves its medicinal virtues, and is therefore in great repute. It contains some small portion of neutral salts, is both diuretic and aperient, and has a uniform temperature of  $54^{\circ}$  of Fahrenheit's scale.

One of the most singular springs recently discovered, and which would be a great accession to any



watering-place in the hot summers of America, is thus described in the public journals :—

**NATURAL SODA FOUNTAIN.** — Mr. Spalding, an American missionary, writing from Fort Vancouver, beyond the Rocky Mountains, describes this phenomenon, which he passed three days' journey from Fort Hall. The fountain has several openings, one of which is about fifteen feet in diameter, with no discovered bottom. About twelve feet below the surface are two large globes on either side of this opening, whence the effervescence seems to rise. A stone cast in, after a few minutes, violently agitates the whole fountain. Another of the openings, about four inches in diameter, is through an elevated rock, from which the water spouts at intervals of about forty seconds. The water, in all its properties, is equal to any artificial fountain, and is constantly foaming and sparkling. It is stated to be very salubrious.

In the centre of the valley, is a triangular plot of grass, which has been enclosed with well-finished rails, painted white, and laid out in walks as a lawn, having also several large and fine trees, under which seats are placed for enjoying the shade. On two sides of this lawn, and along the two edges of the valley close to the foot of the hills on either side, so as to allow the largest space in the middle, are placed the several buildings and rows of rooms for lodging. The hotel is nearly in the centre of the eastern side. This is of two stories, with a colonnade in front, being 112 feet long by 29 feet wide, and is called the Carolina Building. Leading off from this on either side are several long ranges of chambers, of one story only, with a covered walk, or piazza, in front. These are called cabins—as they are scarcely larger than the good cabins on board American packets ;—but they are more like continuous ranges of barracks. One of these is called

“Bachelor’s Row,” as it consists only of single rooms, not more than twelve feet square, with a door letting in immediately from the public piazza, up and down which every body walks, so that the door cannot be opened without the whole interior of the room being exposed. Each of these has two windows, less than two feet square, one opening into the piazza, and the other against the rock of the hill behind; and this last is not nearly so large as the port-hole of a small ship. Another of the rows is called “Philadelphia Row,” and this is devoted to families, having two cabins, one leading out of the other: the first, about twelve feet square, and the second, twelve by six, with a small door and very small window to each. All the visitors here, therefore, whether healthy or sick, may truly be said to be “cabined, cribbed, confined;” but the beds, though plain, are clean, the hair-mattresses good, and the linen white, and these are rare luxuries in the mountains. As to wash-stands, drawers, dressing-tables, bed-carpets, or such refinements as these, they are not to be found; and as all go without them, there is no room for envy of others, though there may be for discontent. Behind the “Bachelor’s Row,” and on the upper part of the hill, is an imposing edifice of brick, called “Society Hall.” It is built of two stories, with a fine portico of twelve feet wide, running the whole length of the front, and a terrace of twenty feet wide beyond this. The length of the building is eighty feet, and its breadth forty; and as its foundation is higher than the roofs of the buildings below, it overlooks them in a most imposing form,

and adds greatly to the picturesque appearance of the whole pile.

On the opposite or western side of the valley, and close to the foot of the hill, the centre of the range is occupied by the dining-room, which is 115 feet long by 54 feet wide; and affords ample room for 300 persons to dine in comfort. It is sufficiently lofty to be always airy; and has suspended from the ceiling, by a complicated frame-work, a handsome and well-fitted series of table-fans, like the punkahs of the East Indies, but composed of several in succession pulled up and down the table lengthwise, instead of a single large board pulled across the table breadthwise, which last is the most simple, elegant, and efficient of the two, and is the only kind used all over Hindoostan. I have described and recommended the adoption of this in every city of America that we have yet visited; for in the hot months of summer it would be a most refreshing instrument in all, and in the South, through the greater part of the year; but I have not remained long enough in any place to witness its adoption; though its great and manifest superiority to all other modes of keeping a dinner-party cool, must, I think, ultimately enforce its general use. At one end of this dining-room, is the drawing-room, nearly square, fifty feet by fifty-four, well carpeted, and lighted with a large chandelier; above this is a ball-room of the same breadth, but greater length, with a music gallery, and well ventilated and lighted for the dance. Near to this are the enclosed Springs; and beyond these a long line of cabins, called "Ala-

bama Row ;" while on the other side of the dining-room are the kitchens, baths, stables, eighty by forty-six, and fifty-nine by forty-four feet, with out-houses of various kinds, including a large granary, and well-supplied shop or store.

At the base of the triangular lawn, and at one end of the valley, is a beautifully smooth and rounded hill, rising like a colossal tumulus, or sepulchral mound, such as the tomb of Cræsus, in the plain of Sardis ; or the Druidical barrow, near Calne, in Wiltshire, in England ; or like the great Indian mound in the valley of the Ohio, or the supposed Mexican fort at Natchez on the Mississippi. Up this mound there are winding paths of ascent, and near its brow, under a large and spreading tree, is raised a platform of observation, like a Turkish kiosque, from whence a view of the whole valley is picturesque and beautiful. It being a bird's-eye prospect, it is not so easily reduced to paper as a horizontal view ; but from this elevated spot, the *coup d'œil* is really charming. The line of buildings on the right hand, as you look up the valley, extending upwards of 400 feet, and the opposite line of buildings on the left, extending nearly 300 feet, with a winding road descending into the valley from the south, and going round the hill on which you stand, and another winding road leading up from the valley in the north, form altogether a most interesting view.

Within a day's ride of the valley are several pretty spots worthy of a visit from those who prolong their stay sufficiently for that purpose. The Falls of the Great Kenhawa, though inferior to those of

Trenton or Niagara, are said to be sufficiently romantic and picturesque to reward a visit. A Blowing Cave is also spoken of, within a few miles, resembling that formerly described in Decatur County in Georgia, and those mentioned by Mr. Jefferson in his Notes on Virginia, as existing at the Panther Ridge in the Cumberland Mountains. The peculiarity of these caves is, that there issues out from their mouths so strong a current of wind, that it levels the plants and grass for several yards before it; and within the caves themselves the current can scarcely be stood up against, from its force. In some of these caves, the current of wind is observed to ebb and flow like the tide, or to rush sometimes inwardly and sometimes outwardly. In others it is found to blow strongest in dry frosty weather, and weakest in warm and humid seasons.

The most remarkable natural curiosity, however, in the neighbourhood, is a recently formed lake, on the summit of one of the ridges of the Alleghany mountains, made within the memory of man. It was formerly what is called a Salt Deer-lick; that is, a place where salt exuding from the earth, deer and wild animals resorted to lick it, this being known to be grateful to their palates. A stream of water ran through the valley, coming in by a narrow entrance at one end, and going out by a still narrower at the other. This last, either by some convulsion of nature, or the gradual accumulation of falling rock and earth from the sides of the hill, became blocked up, so that the water being deprived of its natural outlet, continually accumulated, and formed the lake as it is now seen. It is upwards of a mile in length,

and somewhat less in breadth ; the water is perfectly fresh, but it has risen to such a height as entirely to fill up the valley through which the stream formerly ran, and to bury all the trees on either side of the hill. It is now indeed so deep as not to admit a sounding-line of 100 feet to reach the bottom. Its elevation above the sea is estimated to be 3,000 feet at least.

The diversions of hunting, shooting, and fishing, may be enjoyed in the hills and among the streams here ; and now and then reptiles are to be found where little expected, and without hunting for, as, during our stay there, a long green serpent waved his way across the floor of the bathing room, while a lady was in the bath, but fortunately he did her no harm.

At a distance of nine miles only, is the establishment of the Grey Sulphur Springs, the property of Mr. Legaré, a South Carolinian gentleman. It is chiefly occupied by permanent visitors from that State. Being the first that is reached in coming from the South, almost all Southern people halt at it in their way to the North for a day or two, and visits are frequently made from hence by parties for the day, who drive over after breakfast, dine there, and return in sufficient time for the enjoyment of the pleasures of the evening here.

The visitors at this and at the Red Sulphur are much less numerous than those at the White ; the greatest number at the Grey Springs being about 50, and the greatest number at the Red 200, while at the White Sulphur, 700 and 800 congregate, in full seasons. The visitors at the two former, if less

numerous, are generally more select, and are composed chiefly of persons from the South and West, the distance and the expense operating as a restraint upon the visits of persons from the North. We had here, for instance, at the Red Sulphur Springs, families from New Orleans and Mobile, from Texas and the Havannah, officers of the navy from Pensacola, and of the army from Key West in Florida, several from Red River, Arkansas, and Mississippi, a few from St. Louis in Missouri, many from Alabama, Georgia, and North and South Carolina, some from Ohio and Kentucky, and the largest number, of course, from Virginia.

The contrast between this watering-place and Saratoga, at which we passed a portion of the hot months of July and August last year, is very striking. At Saratoga, there is a large sandy or dusty town, with about 2,000 permanent residents, and from being little elevated above the sea, perhaps not more than 250 feet, the heat is as great as at New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore. Here, on the contrary, is a quiet secluded green valley, with not a particle of dust or sand, no permanent inhabitants, and an elevation of 2,500 feet above the sea, which gives a delightfully cool temperature, rarely exceeding 75°, while at Saratoga 95° is not at all uncommon. The nights here, especially, are so cool, as to require blankets for the beds, while at Saratoga a single sheet seems too heavy. At these Springs there is but one establishment, and there is ample room in it for more visitors than usually attend. At Saratoga there are five or six hotels, and they are generally all crowded to excess. The bed-rooms are larger

here, and the tables better supplied ; the mountain-mutton is as good as that of the South-Down or Welsh breed in England, and the game and poultry is excellent. The milk and butter is sweet and abundant, the water is deliciously fresh and cool, and the attendance and discipline of the domestics is unexceptionable. Each guest is assigned a place at table in the order of his arrival, all taking their seats at the bottom as they first come, and being moved upwards in regular gradation as others go away and leave vacancies to be filled, so that they who remain longest always occupy the best places at the head of the table. On the plate of each person is placed a card with his name, so that there can be no mistake, and the waiters are stationed to wait in sections, one attending to about half a dozen guests. There is, therefore, none of that indecent rushing and pressure to secure good places, which is seen at Saratoga, everyone here being sure of his place, whether coming early or late to the table ; and there is also none of that racing and chasing of waiters, from one end of the table to another, as at Saratoga, where each waiter seems to think it his duty to attend to everybody, as he is not specially limited to a few, and, consequently, in his attempt to answer everybody's call, he can pay no steady or continuous attention to any.

The company at the Virginia Springs is more exclusively confined to the well-bred classes, for the distance and the expense of the journey here, make it impracticable to all but those who are in opulent or at least in easy circumstances ; while at Saratoga, which is within a single day's journey from New



York, and can be reached, therefore, at a very trifling cost, the humblest mechanics and most untutored individuals, as small shopkeepers, clerks, and even white servants, may go and join the crowd for a few days, and sit at table beside the highest and best in the land.

On the morning of Tuesday, the 6th of August, we left the Red Sulphur Springs in the public stage, which runs daily between this and the White Sulphur, stopping at the Salt Sulphur in the way. We started at six o'clock, at an hour when, though the sun had been up since five, its rays were not visible in any part of this deep and secluded valley. The fleecy clouds, just touching the summits of some of the hills, and wreathing the brows of others, made us feel the beauty of Shakspeare's image—

“ The jocund morn  
Stands tiptoe on the misty mountain's top.”

It was well for us that the morning was delightfully cool, as we were literally packed into the stage, there being nine inside passengers, besides a few supernumeraries stowed away on the roof of the coach. The valley through which we drove after leaving the Springs was, however, so beautiful, as to make us think little of the inconvenience of our close stowage. We passed for some distance along the edge of a very sluggish stream, the motion of which was scarcely perceptible from the level of its bed. It is called Indian Creek, and we learnt that the Cherokees and other tribes of Indians occupied its banks so recently as 1774. We could easily conceive the regret with which they would quit for ever such

delicious spots as these, to go to other regions, of which they had no knowledge, and to which there were no local attachments to bind them as here. The road along this valley, which presented a continued succession of the most beautiful views, was unusually good, and the cultivation on both sides of it neater and more orderly than usual. The temperature too was delightful, about 65°, as the bed of the valley was about the same elevation as that we had left, namely, 2,500 feet above the level of the sea. After a ride of six miles, which we accomplished in little more than an hour, we reached a comfortable farm-house, where we found a clean table, and excellent breakfast prepared for us, and enjoyed it exceedingly.

Beyond this, we passed, on the brow of a hill, a stone-built dwelling, like an ordinary house in its exterior, but filled only with long wooden seats or forms, which we saw through the windows and doors, as they were all left open, and attached to it was a large space of ground, enclosed with neat wooden palings, painted brown. This we understood was a district church and burying-ground, to which travelling preachers come occasionally, when the residents for twenty miles round, having notice of this, come to "the preaching." They bring with them their provisions for the day, taking their meals between the services, under the trees in the open air; and sometimes, if the weather be fine, and the attendance numerous, the building is found inadequate to contain the numbers, in which case "the preaching" takes place in the woods.

All along this road, the pennyroyal and the gar-

lic plant, is found in abundance in the fields and by the wayside ; and the cattle often eat of each, which gives a peculiarly disagreeable flavour to their milk and butter. We saw some small patches of the tobacco plant growing here also ; and were told by some of our Virginian passengers, that this was perhaps the only vegetable production that it was not necessary to fence in or enclose, in order to prevent the cattle from eating it. All avoided it ; and so sensible is every brute creature of its poisonous and deleterious quality, that not one of all the various tribes of beasts, birds, or reptiles, has ever been known to taste of the tobacco leaf. It has been reserved to man alone, to make, of this poison-plant, an article of daily necessity for the gratification of his depraved appetite ; in the same perverse spirit, as the people of this country, and of our own, convert the wholesome grain of the field, which God gave to them for nutritious and healthy food, into the poison of ardent spirits, the habitual use of which is equally destructive to the body and the mind, and productive of a greater train of evils than almost any other single cause that can be named.

We had an amusing instance in our party, of the manner in which political predilections exhibit themselves in tangible emblems of particular opinions. An officer in the American navy had with him a fine straight walking-stick, which was admired and commented upon by another of our fellow-passengers, as one of the straightest and prettiest pieces of hickory he had seen for some time. This led to a statement of its history. It was cut from a hickory tree, which overshadows the tomb of the ex-President

Jefferson, the great revolutionary leader of the democratic party, and author of the Declaration of Independence, at Monticello. The hickory, from its hardness, toughness, and obstinate powers of resistance, has been selected as the fittest emblem of the modern leader of the democratic party, the ex-President Jackson, who is familiarly called "Old Hickory." To make this walking-stick more perfect, it was cut from the tree, of the length necessary to include a knot for every letter in the name of Andrew Jackson, neither more nor less, and yet it was of the exact height required for a walking-cane. It was, therefore, at once a sort of emblem and talisman combined; and an ancient Greek or Roman would have attached peculiar virtues to so remarkable a combination of coincidences.

In many parts of the valley are numbers of the sugar maple-tree, some of which are seen at the Red Sulphur Springs; and in some places there were enclosures called "sugar-camps," and troughs, cut out of trunks of trees, used for the drawing out and manufacture of the sugar. This takes place in the cold weather, at the close of winter, usually in February and March, when the sap is rising at the commencement of spring. The trees are from fifty to sixty feet in height, and from fifteen to twenty inches in diameter, with a whitish bark, spreading branches, and light green foliage. It is the *acer saccharinum* of the botanists, and is chiefly valued for its sugar, as the wood is very little used for building, being exceedingly liable to ferment and decay, when exposed to the weather, and also to be destroyed by worms. It flourishes most in moun-

tainous regions, cold and humidity being essential to its perfection. In all the higher valleys of the Alleghanies, therefore, it abounds, as well as in the lower grounds of the regions further North. The wood, when cut at the proper season, furnishes good fuel, and the ashes produce abundance of alkali.

The mode of extracting and making the sugar from this tree, is as follows. In the months of February and March, while the sap is rising, the sheds called "sugar-camps," are erected, or the old ones resorted to, in the centre of a large cluster of these trees. These sheds contain the boilers, of from fifteen to twenty gallons each, and moulds to receive the syrup when brought to the proper consistency for forming it into cakes. The borers then proceed, with an auger of about an inch in diameter, to bore the tree with two holes, four or five inches apart from each other, both about twenty feet from the ground, and in an obliquely ascending direction. In these are placed tubes of elder, of the proper size to fill the holes, and about ten inches long. These are usually placed on the south side of the tree, and do not penetrate more than half an inch beneath the surface, as the sap is most abundant there. The sap is thus drawn off by these tubes, and falls into the troughs placed to receive it, being collected every day, and poured into casks till required to be placed in the boilers. In these it is boiled, and the scum is taken off carefully, and fresh sap added, till the whole becomes a fine syrup. After this it is suffered to cool, and strained through some woollen substance, by which all the remaining impurities are removed. Each tree, upon the average, will yield

about four pounds of sugar ; this, when well made, is quite equal in taste and strength to the brown sugar of the cane ; and when refined, it is not inferior to the best loaf sugar of Europe. It is chiefly consumed, however, in the interior districts.

Within a quarter of a mile of our road, on the left, was a large and curious cave, which one gentleman of our party had once visited, and described as well worth inspection. The surface of the country seemed perpetually thrown up indeed into rounded hills and steep and narrow ridges, as if it were full of hollows below. On several of the latter we had to drive very carefully, as both on the right and on the left were steep slopes and deep vallies, into which a careless driver or restive horses might speedily precipitate the coach and its passengers ; few of whom would be likely to survive such a fall.

We reached the Salt Sulphur Springs ; at eleven o'clock, the distance being eighteen miles, and the time occupied four hours. We halted here, to pass the remainder of the day and night.

The general appearance of this establishment is less interesting than that at the Red Sulphur Springs. Like it, however, it is situated in a deep and narrow valley ; but the same taste has not been displayed in arranging the buildings and embellishing the spot with lawn and trees, and the result of the whole is therefore inferior. The hotel is placed in the lower part of the valley, and several small cottages or cabins are built near it. The principal bed-rooms are, however, in a fine large range of stone buildings, about 200 feet in length, and three stories in height, with a wide veranda or piazza running

along in front of each story. This is half way up the northern hill, with a fine view of the valley below in front, and the green grass of the brow of the hill close to the windows of the lower story behind. The rooms are of good size, well ventilated and clean, and the beds were unusually comfortable. In the middle of the valley are two mineral springs, each under its separate portico and dome, being strongly impregnated with sulphur and salts, and differing only in their respective degrees of strength and temperature, one being at  $50^{\circ}$  and the other at  $56^{\circ}$ . For the exercise of the Invalids, there is a ten-pin alley, under a shed, at which ladies exercise themselves as well as gentlemen; and as the ball is rolled along a wooden platform, and not as with us on the grass, it is less laborious, and many of the ladies whom we saw engaged, threw the ball with skill and grace. Such exercises cannot be too strongly commended for both sexes, as it is the great fault of the age, and of this country more than any other, not to educate the body as well as the mind, and not to train the limbs, muscles, tendons, and lungs to that command of power and freedom of play which frequent and varied exercise alone can give. For the evening entertainment there is a band of coloured musicians, and a ball is given every night. The grounds and garden, which might be made as beautiful as they would be interesting, are in a state of the greatest neglect, and seem rather like the wreck of some deserted village, than as belonging to a watering-place in full vigour and popularity.

On the following morning, August 7th, we left the Salt Sulphur Springs at ten o'clock, in an extra

stage, engaged for the purpose of conveying us to the White Sulphur; the distance being twenty-four miles, and the sum paid, ten dollars. The first part of our way was by a steeply-ascending road, and through a country of poor soil and scanty cultivation. In the course of our drive, there was blown in through the open sides of the coach, what appeared, when it first alighted on Mrs. Buckingham's dress, a piece of greenish-yellow silk thread, or cord, about an inch and half in length, and of the thickness of the finest kind of twine. On attempting to brush it off, however, with the hand, one end of it was erected in the air, and waved from side to side, while the other stuck fast to the silk of the gown. This singular movement attracting our attention, we watched it with the greater care, and soon perceived it was a very small and delicate, but beautiful caterpillar. On putting itself in motion, it did not crawl, by many undulations of the body, and by slow degrees, as creatures of this species usually do; but instead of this, it first erected its whole body perpendicularly in the air, holding firmly by the part on which it rested, and after waving to and fro several times, it stretched its full length in the direction it intended to proceed, and then took as firm hold of the substance beneath it with its upper end, or head as we supposed it; its position was then perfectly prostrate, and as straight as if it were in a state of tension. It then let go the hold of its nether or hinder extremity, and brought it forward quite close to its head, taking firm hold by it, the whole body then forming a lofty and narrow arch in the air; when it let go the hold it had with its head, stood again erect on its



tail, waved its body to and fro several times, and then repeated the same operation as before. It thus measured its way, by repeated lengths of its own body, precisely as the Hindoo pilgrims do, when they vow to measure the ground, by the prostrations of their bodies, from the holy city of Benares to the sacred shrine of Juggernaut, of which, indeed, this little creature's movements strongly reminded us at the time.

At a distance of three miles from the Springs, we reached a neat and pretty village, called Union Court-House, where, in addition to the building from whence it derives its name, were from fifty to to sixty dwelling-houses, several new stores, two churches, one Methodist, and one Presbyterian, a large school, and about five hundred inhabitants. Nothing could exceed the beauty of its situation as a country village, with a rich soil, well-tilled fields, and noble mountains around it; its distance from the top of the Alleghanies, which lie directly west of it not being more than fifteen miles. There were abundance of cattle in the neighbourhood, many new houses were building, and the whole place had an air of activity and rising prosperity. Close by this little town is a large oak, which, from its size, is called The Mammoth Oak, it being the custom of this country to call every thing very large by the epithet of "mammoth;" so that one hears of a mammoth cake, a mammoth pie, a mammoth oyster—terms the most incongruous. This mammoth oak, however, is not more than twenty-two feet in circumference, which, though large as compared with oaks in general, is little in comparison with some of the cedars of

Lebanon, thirty-six feet in girth, and still more so in comparison with the baobab-tree mentioned by Adanson, found by him in Africa, measuring thirteen fathoms, or seventy-eight feet, round. The celebrated Arab traveller, Ibn Batuta, mentions having seen trees of such a size in Africa, that in the hollow trunk of one of ordinary dimensions he saw a weaver working at his loom; and in this country, Hinton mentions that Judge Tucker of Missouri cut off a section of the hollow trunk of a sycamore tree, applied a roof to it, and furnished it for a study. It was perfectly circular, and when fitted up with a stove and other arrangements, it made an ample and convenient apartment. Near the Natural Bridge in Scott-county, Virginia, is the hollow trunk of a sycamore, in which fifteen persons have taken shelter at once, and had plenty of room.

Beyond this we came to the first turnpike we had passed in Virginia, and certainly the tax was well repaid by the improved state of the roads near it. In the fields on either side of the way, buckwheat was chiefly cultivated, and it was now in full flower.

At twelve miles beyond Union Court-House, we crossed a stream called Second Creek, which goes into the Green-briar river, and this empties into the Ohio. Near to this was a hotel by the roadside, on the sign of which was inscribed "The Sugar Grove Inn, by J. Burdett." I asked here, whether the people made much maple-sugar in this neighbourhood; when the gentleman to whom my question was addressed, a planter of the neighbourhood, then on horseback at the inn-door, answered, "Yes, they do, I reckon, right smart," meaning in great quan-

ties. A little beyond this place, we passed over a large cave, which lay immediately beneath the road, the rounded hill over which we drove being hollow nearly all the way under us ; and some children, occupying a stall beneath a tree, had a large collection of stalactytes and mineral specimens, to sell to passengers as they stopped.

Not far from this, we came to a second turnpike, with a fine spring of water near it ; and just beyond was the first beer-shop we had ever seen in America. Our attention was attracted to it by the singularity of its sign. On a dull lead-coloured ground, there were portrayed, in the simplest forms, a round and a square mass, with a jug or pitcher emptying its contents by a stream into a tumbler. All the figures were painted of a deep-brown, without the least attempt at shading, so that they looked like Egyptian hieroglyphics, as they are often delineated in dead colours on their wooden tablets and sarcophagi, recognizable only by their shapes. As the driver of the stage halted here, we learnt from the keeper of the beer-shop, that while the pitcher and glass would explain themselves, the circular and square forms were meant to indicate that bread might be had as well as beer. The beverage, to which he had given this name, did not much resemble the beer of England, being made only of hop-water and molasses, without fermentation, so that it would not keep more than three days in draught, or a week in bottle, and it possessed no power of intoxication, however great the quantity that might be drank. It was, therefore, merely a sweet and bitter drink, which a vitiated taste might by habit be

brought to prefer to pure water, just as men bring themselves to like tobacco or any other nauseous drug. It had the advantage over English beer, of not intoxicating those who drank it, while it was quite as wholesome.

One of the most pleasing features of the rural population of this country is their universal sobriety, and decorum both of manners and speech, to strangers and to each other. In the thousands of miles we had travelled through the interior, we had scarcely seen a drunken man, and never a drunken group or party; nor had we witnessed half the quarreling, abuse, and profane swearing, that is to be seen and heard between almost any two post-towns in England. At the public tables, neither wine, spirits, or beer are placed; simple water or milk is the beverage of all; and although occasional instances occur of spirits being offered by the landlord of the hotel, this is very rare, and it is still rarer that they are accepted. In this absence of wines at the hotels, and of spirits and beer at both these and the farm-houses of the country, is to be found the cause of the general sobriety. If gin-shops and beer-shops were as multiplied in the villages and roads of this country as they are in England, many drunkards would be thereby created even here; and if they were reduced or abolished in England, just as many persons would be prevented from becoming drunkards there. The supply in this article of mischief, almost always precedes the demand; and persons are tempted to drink by the sight, smell, and offer of the liquor, who would neither need it, nor care about it, if it were not obtruded upon them by those whose love of gain

is greater than their regard for the public health, or public morals.

After quitting this spot, we entered a fine deep wood, where the oak, in its multitudinous varieties—of which there are no less than sixty in this country—the walnut, and the spreading spruce-fir, were the chief trees. Thousands of rhododendrons were spread around in the underwood of the forest, as far as the eye could reach on either side, for miles in succession, and they were larger and more abundant than we had ever yet seen them before. There were here also many trees that had been shivered by lightning, and one rent down in two, as completely severed in halves, as if by the axe, one half falling in one direction, and the other half in the opposite quarter, and each being stayed in its fall by other trees. The woodpigeon was also more numerous than we had before observed it; and we were told, that sometimes their numbers here exceeded all belief. I had myself seen such countless myriads of these birds in Egypt, and on the Nile, that I could the more readily believe what was stated to me of their numbers here; besides which, indeed, the best authorities corroborate the statements I heard from the lips of those who had witnessed what they described. Wilson, the American ornithologist, says—

“Several of the people informed me that the noise made by them in the woods was so great as to terrify their horses; and that it was difficult for one person to hear another speak without bawling in his ear. The ground was strewed with broken limbs of trees, eggs, and young squab-pigeons, which had been precipitated from above, and on which herds of hogs were fattening. Hawks, buzzards, and eagles were sailing about in great numbers, and seizing the squabs from their nests at pleasure; while from

twenty feet upwards, to the tops of the trees, the view through the woods presented a perpetual tumult of crowding and fluttering multitudes of pigeons, their wings roaring like thunder, mingled with the frequent crash of falling timber ; for now the axe-men were at work, cutting down those trees that seemed to be most crowded with nests ; and they continued to fell them in such a manner that in their fall they might bring down several others ; by which means the falling of one tree brought down two hundred young pigeons little inferior in size to the old ones, and almost one mass of fat. It was dangerous to walk under these flying and fluttering millions, from the frequent fall of large branches, which were broken by the weight of the multitudes above, and which in their descent often destroyed numbers of the birds themselves ; while the clothes of those engaged in traversing the woods were completely covered with the excrements of the pigeons."

Catesby, in his Description of Carolina, gives an equally remarkable account of what he had seen.

" I have seen (in Virginia) the pigeons of passage fly in such continued trains, three days successively, that there was not the least interval in losing sight of them ; but that somewhere or other in the air they were to be seen, continuing their flight south. When they roost, which they do on one another's backs, they often break down the limbs of oaks by their weight, and leave their dung some inches thick under the trees they roost upon."

Hinton's account of these birds is as striking and as accurate as either of the preceding—

" The most remarkable characteristic of these birds is their associating together, both in their migrations, and during the period of incubation, in such prodigious numbers, as almost to surpass belief, and certainly to have no parallel among any other of the feathered tribes on the face of the earth, with which naturalists are acquainted. Their roosting-places are always in the woods, and sometimes occupy a large extent of forest. When they have frequented one of these places for some time, the ground is covered several inches deep with their dung ; all the tender grass and underwood is destroyed ; the surface is covered with large

limbs of trees, broken down by the weight of the birds clustering one above another ; and the trees themselves, for thousands of acres, killed as completely as if girdled with an axe. The marks of this desolation remain for many years on the spot ; and numerous places can be pointed out, where, for several years afterwards, scarcely a single vegetable made its appearance. When these roosts are first discovered, the inhabitants from considerable distances visit them in the night with guns, clubs, long poles, pots of sulphur, and various other engines of destruction ; and in a few hours they fill many sacks, and load their horses with the birds. The breeding-places are of greater extent than the roosts. In the western countries they are generally in beech-woods, and often extend, nearly in a straight line across the country, a great way. Not far from Shelbyville, in the State of Kentucky—once included within the boundary of Virginia—a few years ago, there was one of these breeding-places, which was several miles in breadth, and upwards of forty miles in length. In this tract, almost every tree was furnished with nests, wherever the branches could accommodate them. The pigeons made their first appearance there about the 10th of April, and left it altogether, with their young, before the 25th of May. As soon as the young were fully grown, and before they left the nests, numerous parties of the inhabitants, from all parts of the adjacent country, came with waggons, axes, beds, cooking utensils, many of them accompanied by the greater part of their families, and encamped for several days at this immense nursery.”

Such is the abundant supply of animal, as well as vegetable food, with which this vast and prolific country teems in every part !

After passing three times, at intervals of a few miles apart, the winding stream of Howard’s Creek, over two of which were good bridges, and the other arrived at five.

## CHAP. XV.

White Sulphur Springs—Beautiful valley—Extensive establishment—Statue of Hygeia—Parallelogram of cabins—Idle loungers—Evening ball—American dandies—Hotel-keepers—Journey to the Sweet Springs—Summit of the Alleghany mountains—Rivers running to the Atlantic—Rivers running to the Mississippi—Apalachian chain—Burning Springs—Sweet Springs—Swimming-baths—Effects of watering-places.

THE establishment at the White Sulphur is on a much larger scale than that of either of the Mineral Springs in the mountains, and is much more frequented, having at the present time upwards of 600 visitors, while neither of the others have 200. The situation is exceedingly beautiful; the valley being broad enough to admit of a large plain between the hills, on which plain herds of cattle and sheep were grazing; and these, with the fine trees scattered over it at distant intervals, gave it the appearance of an extensive park. The hills, though not lofty, are gentle, and finely undulated, and the views of the distant mountains are at once grand and beautiful. The spring, called the White Sulphur, from the whiteness of its deposit, is under a heavy and tasteless portico, with a cumbrous dome, supported by twelve plain and ill-proportioned pillars. The whole enclosure was small, gloomy, and dirty, compared



with those of the other Springs we had visited. The dome was surmounted, however, by a graceful and classic statue of Hygeia, presented by S. Henderson, and the water was as clear as crystal.

The principal portion of the buildings form a parallelogram, on the slope of a hill; the dining-room, which is about 200 feet long, being at the lower end, as well as the ball-room. This is much too small for the number of visitors. Beyond these extend the lines of cabins and cottages, which are occupied as bed-rooms. The several rooms are called after States and Cities. The old cabins are small and dark, the new ones are larger and lighter; some pretty ones have been erected on the higher part of the hill, for families, with ascending flights of steps and pillared porticos, which add much to the beauty of the whole. Some private mansions also are erecting for the permanent country-residences of wealthy citizens, which will still further improve the general appearance of the spot. There is one great defect, however, in this establishment, which we had not witnessed in any other, namely, that it has no drawing-room or general sitting-room either for ladies or gentlemen; so that, though some have to walk a quarter of a mile, from the most remote cabins to the dining-room, three times a day—all their meals being taken by the visitors in the dining-room, and none but the sick being served with food in their private apartments—there is no general place of retirement to which they can withdraw; all are obliged to return to their own bed-rooms, very few having the accommodation of a sitting-room adjoining it. Indeed, throughout America, the luxury of a private sitting-room is very rare,

and the habit of sitting, writing, and sometimes even eating, in the bed-room is very general.

The lawns, walks, and trees around the establishment were all beautiful and in excellent order, and the drives are varied and interesting also. The number of carriages and horses here, belonging to the visitors, were very numerous, and many of them were in use. The greater number of the guests seemed, however, to be at a loss how to pass their time. It was really melancholy to see the numerous groups of both sexes who were lounging idly about, too indolent of body for active exercise, too indolent of mind for animated conversation, and evincing an appearance of the greatest lassitude and weariness in every look and tone. The fare at the table we thought worse than at any of the other Springs, and the servants, almost all negroes, were both dirty and ill-disciplined. The only beds we could procure were mattresses stuffed with straw, and these hard and uneven. We had the same difficulty as usual in procuring any of the proper accompaniments of a bed-room, such as wash-stand, dressing-table, looking-glass, tumblers, &c., all of which are considered to be superfluities, and must be literally wrung from the attendants, who think it a great and unnecessary trouble to procure such articles, especially as they see so many of their richest guests quietly and contentedly do without them.

In the evening we attended the ball, where, in a small and crowded room, about 200 persons were literally packed. In addition to the animal heat from such a number in a small space, (the room moreover being very low, and greatly heated by the

number of lights,) the orchestra was filled by negro musicians; the bands being almost always formed of coloured people. Every door and window, at which, if unoccupied, fresh air might have come in, was crowded by the negro servants of the visitors, so that the heat and effluvia from such sources were far from agreeable. There was a great admixture of company also, more than I had thought likely to assemble at such a place. The majority were genteel in dress, appearance, and manners; but there were many coarse and vulgar persons, among the men especially, and some few among the women.

We saw here some of the most extravagant specimens of American dandies, of both sexes, that we had yet met with in the United States; and I doubt much whether London or Paris, productive as they are of each, could furnish anything more extravagantly ridiculous than the specimens in this place. One of the males seemed to be ambitious of rendering his appearance as much like a savage as possible; and had, therefore, suffered his hair, beard, and moustaches to grow uncut in wild luxuriance, and to all appearance uncombed; while his face, either from some artificial stain, or by more than usual exposure to the sun, had a reddish bronze copper colour, scarcely distinguishable from the complexion of an Indian. With all this, his attire was of the most fashionable cut, excepting an old battered broad-brimmed straw hat, which no one would pick up if they saw it on the road; and which he carried underneath his left arm, like an opera hat, lest he should disturb his uncombed locks by wearing it. Another of these caricatures of humanity seemed to

wish to be taken for an hermaphrodite, as his dress and appearance left you in doubt to which of the sexes he belonged. His garments were all of the most ladylike tightness and delicacy of material, and his waist was evidently compressed with tight-laced stays. His beard, if he had ever had any, must have been plucked out, for there was no sign of the use of the razor; and his hair, which he put up at night, as we were told, in curl papers, hung down around his face in the most feminine ringlets; while a white seam marked the place of its parting on the top of his head; and his affected lisp and mincing gait were precisely those of a conceited young boarding-school miss. The third was a perfect nondescript; but appeared to be an attempt to embody the most incongruous characteristics of the two sexes in one; he was a tall thin man, about thirty, with a sportsman's dress, frock hunting-coat of light velvet, white corduroys, and yellow top-boots, with a huge knotted walking-stick, white-kid gloves, and full-bosomed frilled-shirt, with a fancy-printed muslin cravat. His face was long and narrow, his eyes large and protruding, and his complexion of deathlike paleness. His cheeks were hollow and sunken, so that they too visibly displayed the large rolling quid of the Virginian weed, which he thrust alternately, like an interior tumour, first against one cheek, and then against another, while the liquid of the tobacco was ejected once in every minute at the least, and sometimes oftener, on the floor of the ball-room, or on the dresses of the ladies, as it might happen. With all this, his long black glossy hair was placed in a flattened curve down each cheek, and turned up behind each ear, as

ladies usually wear it; while a third portion was made to come down over his forehead in a sort of crescent, forming altogether the most fantastic figure imaginable. The few female dandies we saw were not quite so ridiculous as the males; their peculiarities consisting chiefly in the extravagant excess to which they pushed the prevailing style of dress beyond its usual limits; extremely compressed waists, very low bodies, greatly exposed back, and perfectly naked shoulders, hugely protruding bustles, and artificially projecting busts, added to the most beseeching coquetry of attitude and manner.

It should be remarked that these were only excrescences on the general surface of the society here; I know indeed that their extravagances appeared as revolting to the greater portion of their own countrymen and countrywomen, as they did to us. In general there is not so much of dandyism in either sex in America, as there is in England or in France. The men are more grave, and not so polished; the women are more reserved, and neither so elegant nor so animated as in the fashionable circles of Europe; but when they break out beyond their natural or accustomed bounds, and set up for decided "Exclusives," they run into greater extravagances than the beaux and belles of England or France; and being without the refinement of manners which these last generally possess, they become more complete caricatures in the eyes of their own nation as well as of strangers.

I have often had occasion to remark on the independence of American hotel-keepers, and the reluctance of guests to make any remonstrances or com-

plaints, lest they should get a rebuff instead of a remedy ; but I never heard of this being carried to such a pitch as here. The visitors, indeed, seemed to put up with any thing offered them ; and the fear of being turned away from the establishment altogether, sealed all lips against public fault-finding ; though, in private, and among each other, complaints were reciprocally breathed and interchanged ; so that they contented themselves with sympathy instead of seeking for redress. Two characteristic and authentic anecdotes of this were told me, by a gentleman who came here every season, and was well acquainted with the facts. A stranger, who had come here for the first time, having an uncomfortable bed-room, and being put off from day to day, by a promise from the servants that he should fill the next best room left vacant, thought it best to go to head-quarters, and appeal to the proprietor, Mr. Caldwell, at once. Having done so, the answer he received was this. " Sir, I did not send for you to come to my house ; you came of your own accord, uninvited ; and whenever you think fit, you can return as freely." Another gentleman ventured to complain that the servants were inattentive to him at the table, and the remedy he obtained was this : The proprietor ordered his bill to be made out, and his horse to be saddled and taken to his bed-room door, with a message that his apartment would be required for another gentleman from that day forward ; so he paid his bill, and left the place accordingly. As far as I could learn, no instances ever occur of a resistance to this sort of incivility ; and it is this subservient acquiescence, on the part of the guests and visitors to

American hotels and boarding-houses, which appears to me to prevent all attempt on the part of their managers to improve them.

Immense sums have been laid out on this establishment; so that it is now thought by many to be worth a million of dollars. Certain it is that during the season, which lasts from three to four months, from June to September, the receipts are from 1,000 to 1,500 dollars a day at the hotel alone; and for stabling, carriage room, and purchase of articles at the store, 500 dollars a day more may be added; making the receipts 150,000 dollars for a season of 100 days, at 1,500 dollars a day. At the least one half of this, or 75,000 dollars, would be clear profit; making, therefore, 13 per cent. per annum interest, on a million of dollars, though probably not more than half that sum has been actually expended by the proprietor himself.

On Thursday, the 8th of August, we left the White Sulphur Springs, in an extra coach engaged for the trip, and proceeded to the Sweet Springs, distant seventeen miles from hence. We set out at ten o'clock, and for the first two hours we were occupied in ascending the steep western part of the Alleghany ridge, which rises on the east of the White Sulphur Springs, and forms the dividing-line between the waters that run west to the Mississippi, and those that flow east to the Atlantic, just as the Blue Ridge divides the waters in North Carolina. We reached the summit of the Alleghany ridge about noon, and the prospect from thence was extensive and beautiful, our elevation above the level of the sea being now about 4,000 feet, the valley of the White Sulphur

Springs, from which we had ascended, being about 2,700. The change that has taken place in the state of the country beyond this barrier, in less than a century, is very remarkable. The valleys west of the Alleghanies are now filled with hundreds of the gay and fashionable during the summer months; and planters and farmers reside in or near them in great numbers all the year round. Yet when in 1749 a wandering lunatic, who, though deranged, was harmless in his conduct, and therefore suffered to be at large, crossed these mountains from the east, and came back to tell of his having found the waters there all flowing to the west, instead of coursing their way to the Atlantic—he was not believed; and for many years no public or general confidence was placed in this discovery. In 1751 a small reconnoitring party crossing the mountains in the same direction, came to the waters of what is now the Green-briar river, which discharge themselves into the Kenhawa, thence into the Ohio, and by this into the Mississippi. They found here two white men, both natives of New England, living on the banks of the stream. Though these men were not many hundred yards distant from each other, and were the only white persons known to be in this region at all, it is remarkable that jealousy or fear should have prevented them, in this lonely exile, from becoming friends. They lived as much apart from each other, as both did from the world in general; and no intercourse took place between them beyond the morning salutation, when the one came out from the hollow trunk of the tree, and the other emerged from the log-hut, in which they respectively took their shelter



at night. Soon after this, the Virginians attempted a settlement here, but it was entirely cut off by the Indian tribes in 1763; and it was not until after the close of the revolutionary war, and the establishment of the independence of the country, that the region was again approached; since which it has been making a steady progress in settlement and cultivation.

These mountains are sometimes called the Apalachian range, which Mr. Jefferson says is derived from the name of an Indian tribe, called the Apalachies. The river Apalachicola, farther south, derives its name from some Indians of this tribe living on its borders. The whole of this region is full of natural curiosities, among which is a burning spring, found in the low grounds of the Great Kenhawa river, seven miles above the mouth of the Elk, and sixty-seven above that of the Kenhawa. At this spot there is a hole in the earth, capable of containing thirty or forty gallons of liquid. From this aperture there issues a bituminous vapour, so strongly impregnated with inflammable gas, that when a lighted torch or candle is put to it, it instantly ignites, and burns up in a column of flame, a foot and a half in diameter, which will sometimes last for three or four days before it is exhausted. There are also what are called syphon-fountains, as described by Mr. Jefferson in his Notes on Virginia, the waters of which ebb and flow, or intermit, once in every twelve hours.

In descending the eastern slope of the Alleghany range, we had before us a succession of rich and beautiful valleys, through which, and over gently intervening hills, the remainder of our road chiefly lay,

when, about two o'clock, we reached the Sweet Springs, where we halted to remain for the day.

This is the oldest of all the mineral springs of Virginia, having been frequented for medicinal purposes as long as sixty years ago,—a long period in American history. Its situation is the most beautiful of all, and its capacity for improvement is the greatest; so that if a judicious use be made of these advantages, it is likely to become the most attractive of all the Springs. The water has no sulphur in it; but a very small admixture of magnesia, soda, and iron. It contains a large portion of carbonic acid gas, which, in its escape, gives the brisk and sparkling appearance of soda-water. It is very agreeable to the palate, and its effects, are so gentle, that persons in health drink of it as freely as invalids. The temperature being uniformly  $74^{\circ}$ , it forms a delicious element for bathing; and as the spring is copious, two spacious and comfortably enclosed swimming and plunging baths have been provided, the ladies' bath being roofed over as well as enclosed on every side, and the gentlemen's having a part of the roof open, which is pleasingly shaded by the branches of a lofty tree. The baths are sufficiently spacious, about fifty feet by forty, and four feet deep. The bottom is good, the water is as clear as crystal, and is seen bubbling up from twenty different places, instead of being supplied by a single spring. The bathing-rooms are comfortable, and the attendance good; and with a buoyant and sparkling fluid, at the temperature of  $74^{\circ}$ , the bath is the most delicious to the feelings that can well be conceived, leaving a glow of health and vigour over the whole frame. The superin-

tendant of the bath, was an old Frenchman, who left Paris in 1789, after having been present at the destruction of the Bastile. He landed at Alexandria near Washington in that year, and has never been out of the State of Virginia since ; though now eighty years of age, he is as healthy and vivacious as any Parisian who had never quitted the capital.

The new hotel recently erected here, is one of the finest we had yet seen. It is a large brick pile, about 240 feet in length, and 50 feet in breadth. The lower story, which contains all the domestic offices, has in front an arcade, which furnishes a fine covered walk along the whole front, for exercise in rainy weather, and supports at the same time the noble piazza in front of the second story, where an open promenade of 240 feet affords ample space for the company in fine weather. The ascent to this piazza from the lawn in front, is by three large flights of steps, at three Doric porticos, one in the centre, and one at each extremity, all of good proportions and in correct taste. The floor of the second story, on a level with this open piazza, is devoted to a central dining-room, 160 feet long, 40 feet broad, and 20 feet high, capable of dining comfortably 500 persons ; and at each end are drawing-rooms 40 feet square. The third story is occupied by bed-rooms of good size, well lighted and ventilated ; making altogether one of the most complete establishments in the country. It is the intention of the present proprietor to build, as wings to this principal edifice, rows of cabins for those who prefer them ; and to lay out the grounds on a plan which will unite convenience with beauty ; and when finished, it promises to

be the most perfect resort for health or pleasure in the mountains. The fare we enjoyed here was excellent ; the mutton equal to the finest in England ; and all the food good, clean, and nicely dressed, while the attention of the proprietor and his servants was quite as great as that shown by landlords to their guests at English hotels, the only instance in which we could truly say this, during all our travels.

We had intended to have gone from hence to the warm and hot springs to the north, but the multiplicity of travellers moving in every direction, made it difficult to obtain either public or private conveyances for the direction wished ; we were, therefore, obliged to move, in many cases, as the stream flowed, and as the opportunities of making progress presented themselves. These baths are more frequented by invalids, however, than by persons seeking only pleasure ; as the warm bath is not so highly relished as a mere enjoyment by the people of this country, as it was by the ancient Greeks and Romans, and as it still continues to be by the Oriental nations. I had enjoyed the hot mineral springs of Tiberias in Palestine, as well as the artificially-heated baths of Aleppo, Damascus, Cairo, Bagdad, and Ispahan, the very remembrance of which is more pleasurable than the actual enjoyment of the imperfect warm baths of this country, though they have the materials here for forming the most luxurious baths in the world, had they but the taste to appreciate and design appropriate edifices and suitable accompaniments. But this, it may be presumed, will come in time.

The variety of the waters may be judged of from

the fact, that almost every range of hills produces a different kind. There are said to be no less than fifty, all within a small compass, though there are but three yet enclosed—the hot, the warm, and the temperate. The former has a temperature of  $106^{\circ}$ , which is less than that of most of the hot springs of Europe: those of Bath in England being  $116^{\circ}$ , those of Aix la Chapelle in France  $143^{\circ}$ , and those of Wiesbaden and Carlsbad in Germany  $151^{\circ}$  and  $165^{\circ}$  respectively. The warm springs of Virginia have a temperature of  $98^{\circ}$ , and this is the one most frequently used for bathing.

The invalids who visit these Springs are very few, compared with the persons who come here because it is the fashion, and whose only object is the pursuit of pleasure. Hence the greater number of the visitors are satisfied with a very short stay at each, finding it very dull and wearisome to go through the same stupid round every day. They all drink the waters, and that without the advice of any medical man; though there is generally a physician at each place, but he has little practice. Many it is believed really injure themselves by the quantity of the water they drink, though all benefit by the rough journey, the mountain air, and the unavoidable exercise, as well as the temperance which all practise; for we did not see a single glass of wine, spirits, or beer drank by any of the visitors, at either of the Springs, during all our stay in the mountains. The newspapers, which arrive regularly by the mail, help to pass a portion of the time; and one occupation of great interest to all parties appears to be the endeavour to find out, by inquiring from all comers and goers, how many visitors there were at the latest date,

at each of the Springs. Many take as much interest in the augmentation and diminution of numbers at their own and other establishments, as speculators do in the price of stocks, or the rise and fall of cotton; and others, who are fond of everything that is popular, regulate their movements very much by the intelligence they get as to whether visitors are increasing or decreasing at other Springs, and bend their way to them accordingly.

On the whole, it appeared to me that this habit, of families and individuals leaving their homes for three months in the year, to congregate together at fashionable watering-places, is productive of more evil than good to the morals and manners of any nation. That a temporary absence from the Southern cities in the hot months is desirable for health, no one can deny; and that such absences, even from the Northern cities at such periods, might be made beneficial, by the relaxation and recreation of both body and mind, few would dispute. But for this purpose, such absences should have some fixed object of pursuit and occupation connected with them. A tour of investigation through any particular section of country, directed to the prosecution of inquiries in any department of natural history, in statistics, in search of the picturesque, in the promotion of schemes of benevolence or of philanthropy—these, interwoven with the enjoyment of exercise, fresh air, and temperate living, would be wholesome food for the body and mind; and, if interspersed with occasional halts for a week or two, in some quiet nooks of rural beauty, would be favourable to the cultivation of the taste for simple enjoyment, and the solitude which is

so favourable to reflection. But as visits to fashionable watering-places are now conducted, they seem to me productive of evil. To the old, they either produce discomfort, from the perpetual round of frivolous amusements in which they are engaged, or they beget a taste for this species of pleasure altogether unbecoming their age. To those in the meridian of life, the fathers and mothers of rising families, they must present many revolting pictures of the utter waste of time, or else reconcile them to habitual trifling and inactivity. And to the young, of whom there are many between the ages of seven and twelve, such places are absolutely pernicious, introducing them thus early into the very hot-bed of dissipation ; the chief occupation of such children being that of eating and drinking uncontrolled at every meal, playing checquers or backgammon, and reading fashionable novels during the day, and dancing with partners of the other sex at night ; by all which, health is impaired, bad tastes are formed, and a premature developement is given to those very passions, which it ought to be the duty of all parents to curb and restrain. These are evils of no common magnitude ; and, although it is probable that the love of pleasure—the chief motive which impels both old and young to make such visits—will still continue to fill the fashionable watering-places all the world over, it may well make the anxious parent pause, ere he commit his offspring, voluntarily, to the influences of their annual resort.

## CHAP. XVI.

Journey from the Sweet Springs to Fincastle—Ascent of the mountains—Magnificent views—Town of Fincastle—Cherry valley—Political conversation—New parties—Impracticables and Inexpressibles—Town of Buchanan—Purgatory Mountain—The Natural Bridge—Supposed fragment of an ancient cavern—American eagle overshadowing the British lion—The Endless Mountain—Peaks of Otter—Arrival at Lexington—Fairfield—Camp meeting—Greenville—Cyclopean towers—Staunton, oldest town of the interior—Waynesborough to Wyer's Cave.

On the morning of the 9th of August, we left the Sweet Springs at ten o'clock, by the mail-stage for Fincastle, on our way to the Natural Bridge, and had the agreeable society of a family from Baltimore through the journey. Our way lay across three of the mountain-ridges belonging to the general chain of the Alleghanies, so that we were prepared for a slow and tedious journey, which we hoped would be amply compensated by rich and picturesque views ; and we were not disappointed.

Our ascent of the first ridge, called Sweet Spring Mountain, occupied us about four hours ; but it was four hours of continuous delight. The views grew richer and more romantic as we ascended ; and from the summit the prospect was surpassingly grand. The hour's descent of the mountain on the other side was also one of similar enjoyment, for the valleys



below us to the eastward were even more fertile and beautiful than those we had left. But the crowning triumph, of the romantic and sublime, was reserved for our ascent of the second ridge, called Prince's Mountain, which took us about four hours more to wind slowly up, halting at short intervals to give rest to our horses, and to drink in the splendid beauties of which the surrounding scene was so full. The grandeur of the prospect, and the depth and solemnity of its effect upon the feelings, were indescribable. I had crossed many loftier mountains than these—Lebanon in Palestine, and Zagros and Louristan in Persia, especially—but even in the former, rich and beautiful as it is in scenes of the greatest loveliness, they seemed to me all inferior to the unrivalled splendour revealed to our delighted vision, by the progressive winding ascent of the western slope of Prince's Mountain. As the road went zig-zag up the steep slope of this magnificent barrier, it was almost always overhanging a deep glen, and in some places seemed to be on the very edge of a perpendicular precipice. Dark valleys and towering trees appeared, therefore, constantly beneath us, in perpetually descending terraces, every variety of tint being communicated to their wavy surfaces by varieties in distance alone. As we ascended higher and higher up the mountain, every elevation of a few hundred feet, opened new ranges of hills, rising one above the other to the north and west, on the left and behind us; until, as we drew near the summit, a boundless view to the north-west opened to us, not less than fifty separate ridges of hills, rising one behind the other in irregular succession, each charac-

terized by some distinct feature in outline and colour, and the whole gradually receding into the blue distance, till land and sky were blended into one. The visible horizon was thought to extend 100 miles in that direction at least, and the vista comprehended every element of grandeur and beauty. It reminded me forcibly of some of the landscape illustrations of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, from the pencil of Martin, where mountain, piled on mountain, goes on with accumulated grandeur, rising above and yet receding beyond each other, till they are lost in the immensity of space; while the valley of the foreground has all the softest features of rural beauty, that could be expected to adorn the Garden of Eden! Magnificent as are many portions of these United States in their scenery, Virginia carries off the palm; and the territory of "The Old Dominion" not only forms the largest of all the States, but must, I think, be pronounced, by all impartial witnesses, to be the most grand and the most beautiful.

The descent of Prince's Mountain led us again into a rich and fertile valley, after which we crossed the third ridge, called Caldwell's Mountain, which, though not so lofty as either of the others, was yet full of interesting scenery; and at nine o'clock at night we reached Fincastle, having been just eleven hours performing thirty-three miles.

The situation of Fincastle, which we were enabled to see on the following morning, is very pleasing, the country immediately around it being gently undulated, and well cultivated, while ranges of lofty mountains are in view on almost every side. The hotel at which we stopped had the sign of the Boar's Head,

the first instance in which I had seen this ancient sign, so attractive to Falstaff and Prince Henry in East Cheap, adopted in America, where taverns are mostly called after the names of their proprietors, rather than by emblematic signs, as in Europe. The town contains about 250 houses, and 800 inhabitants, of whom, there are nearly 200 negro slaves; these increasing in their proportion to the whites as you approach the Atlantic coast. There are four churches here, Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, and Episcopal; a Court House, built of an octagonal shape, and crowned with a dome; two large Academies, well attended by male and female students; and a Weekly Newspaper of democratic politics; this being the party to which the farmers of the interior chiefly belong.

We left Fincastle at nine A. M., on the 10th of August, the mail-stage waiting here all night for the accommodation of the passengers; and when we had got a few miles beyond the town, the driver handed in to the passengers a number of newspapers, addressed to various individuals in and around Fincastle. These had been sent by the mail for deposit in the post-office there; but having been overlooked, he thought it would not be worth while to return them; and, therefore, he opened them all for the use of the passengers. So lightly, indeed, are newspapers thought of, as matters of personal property, that it is very common for the idlers of a village to go to the post-office on the arrival of the mail, and appropriate to themselves newspapers addressed to others; and this is no more thought of, than the act of stopping a stage-coach near an orchard, to

supply all the passengers with fruit ; the indifference in both cases arising apparently from the cheapness and abundance of the articles thus misappropriated.

We were now entering on what is called the Cherry Valley, which runs up between the Alleghanies on our left, and the Blue Ridge on our right, all the way from hence to Washington city, and to the borders of Pennsylvania. The high road—the oldest coach-road, we were told, in the country—is called the Valley Road ; and one of the newspapers handed to us for perusal, was called “ The Valley Star.” The country was here almost wholly under cultivation ; and the farms were large, and in excellent order. One that we passed belonged to the family of Judge Taylor ; it comprised 1,500 acres, and was deemed cheap at 100 dollars an acre. Wheat was grown here of excellent quality, the average return being forty-fold ; some particular portions of the land yielding fifty bushels to the acre. An agricultural gentleman of the neighbourhood stated, that he had known in this valley as high a return as sixty-two bushels to the acre, but he admitted this to be rare : a single grain of wheat, under very peculiar circumstances, had been known to produce on several stalks, springing from the same root, no less than 1,600 good and perfect grains from all its ears ! A singular fact was mentioned respecting the maize or Indian corn ; namely, that no single grain can be made to germinate or grow alone. It is indispensable that it should be planted in some quantity in the same spot, to thrive at all ; without the influence of other proximate grains, it withers and dies. It is, in short, a kind of social plant, which

cannot be reared in solitude, and which attains most strength and vigour, all other things being equal, when it is planted in the largest masses, and over the most extensive area.

Our newspaper reading, as may be conceived, led us insensibly into political conversation; and I found here, as elsewhere, that the rich and the mercantile classes were nearly all Whigs; and the people of moderate fortunes, and the agriculturalists, nearly all Democrats. The difference between them, however, is not so much on the principles of general politics, as on the question of banks; the Whigs being for a national bank, a credit system, and paper currency; the Democrats being for the custody of the public money by a national treasury, ready-money transactions, and a metallic currency; while both, as usual in political controversies, carry out their doctrines to extremes. A new party is rising up, however, called by themselves Conservatives, who will not ally themselves to either. By both the old parties, however, these Conservatives are called "Impracticables." Mr. Rives, a distinguished senator from Virginia, has seceded from the Democrats, but not gone over to the Whigs, nor joined the Conservatives; and as he will not yet declare the exact position which he either now occupies or means to take, it is proposed to make him the founder of a new party to be called the "Inexpressibles."

About eleven miles after leaving Fincastle, we came to the banks of a stream, which formed the head waters of the celebrated James River, on which the first English settlement was founded by Sir Walter Raleigh, under the name of Jamestown.

Close by this were some of the largest and most beautiful weeping-willows we had yet seen, from sixty to seventy feet in height, and forty to fifty feet spread, and of the most graceful form. From hence there rose up, on the opposite side of the stream, an exceedingly steep and conical hill, called "Purgatory Mountain." Two miles beyond this we came to the small but increasing town of Buchanan. This is seated on the banks of the James river, and is at the head of its navigation. The river is crossed by a good bridge; and several boats laden with supplies, for Richmond, lay at the bank. The town has about 100 houses and 600 inhabitants. There was a militia muster as we passed through; but this body being highly popular here, we did not remark any of the extravagancies we had seen in New York and in Georgia, where the object of all was to bring it into contempt. On the contrary, the young men here appeared proud of their military display; and as, from the abundance of deer in the mountains, they have good opportunities of practising with the rifle, they could muster a company of 100 good marksmen, which would furnish an excellent quota to a provincial army, if foreign aggression or internal insurrection should render their services necessary. In every point of view this seems a better force for a free country to keep ready for its defence, than the standing armies of Europe.

After crossing the river, we passed an inn with the sign of "The Hobhouse Tavern," which made me imagine it must have been so named by some radical elector of Westminster, who had settled here at the time when its former member was more the

idol of the Democratic party than at present. The last signboard we had seen before this was "The Sugar-Grove Inn, by J. Burdett." The juxtaposition of these names, in this remote quarter, was at least curious. I could only learn that the name here was not that of the present proprietor, the person who had first established it having gone farther west, which is the constant practice of almost all British emigrants to these parts.

The road from hence was sufficiently rough and rocky to account to us for the name of Purgatory Mountain, along the foot of which it ran, as our progress never exceeded two miles in the hour; but after escaping from it, and passing through a rich and beautiful country, we arrived, about three o'clock, at the Natural Bridge, the whole distance from Fincastle being twenty-four miles.

We halted here, for the purpose of examining this remarkable object; and having sufficient leisure, and a competent guide, we had an opportunity of seeing it from the most advantageous points of view. Two steep and lofty hills approach each other, leaving a narrow but deep ravine between them; and about half-way up their height, these hills are connected by the mass of rock forming the Natural Bridge. The breadth across from hill to hill is nowhere more than 80 feet; and in some places less than 50; so that the length of the bridge is not more than 100 feet, and its breadth is about 60. Its grandeur consists chiefly in its height, which is 220 feet from the top of the bridge to the centre of the valley below; where a small stream, called Cedar Creek, runs along among the rocks. Its beauty con-

sists in the lightness and gracefulness of its arch, which is about 180 feet high and from 60 to 90 feet broad in different parts, the narrowest dimensions being at the bottom, and the broadest at the top. The thickness of the Bridge, therefore, from the upper level of the road, to the topmost curve of the arch, is about 10 feet.

As you pass over the Bridge in the coach, you perceive nothing of the deep chasm on each side, unless your attention should be particularly called to it; and even then you get but a momentary glance; as you are driven across the 100 feet, which constitutes the whole length of the Bridge, in a few seconds. When you alight from the carriage, however, and approach the edges on either side, the yawning gulf below excites terror in some, astonishment in others, and admiration in all: the height being 220 feet, and the sides of the cliffs perfectly perpendicular, with here and there a tree of considerable size growing to all appearance out of the solid rock, projecting its trunk and spreading branches upwards towards the Bridge, but not reaching within 50 feet of its summit. The very fear, indeed, which, in most of the spectators, this scene inspires, contributes to increase its sublimity.

The full effect of the grandeur which characterizes this remarkable object cannot be enjoyed, however, without descending into the valley, and viewing it from below. A winding but rocky path leads down from just beyond the hotel, by which, in a short time, you reach the depth of the ravine, and stand on the border of the running stream, on the south side of the Bridge. The view of it, as you look



upward, is beautiful beyond description ; and as its great charm is in the combination of vastness in scale, gracefulness in form, and lightness and airiness in proportion, no drawing, however accurate, can make the same impression on the beholder as the original. In this respect it resembles the pyramids of Egypt, which always look mean and insignificant on canvass or paper, but which have a sublimity, arising from their stupendous size, and a beauty arising from the simple severity of their form, that inspire one with admiration on the spot, but which cannot be conveyed by any transcript, however perfect. The view on the northern side of the Bridge, though different in some of its features, is equally beautiful with that on the south ; and both may be gazed upon for hours, not only without fatigue or weariness, but with increased pleasure, as it seemed to me, from dwelling on them.

It is on this side that is shown the place, where, a few years since, a young gentleman undertook the daring task of ascending the perpendicular cliffs, with the design of writing his name above that of "George Washington," which had hitherto stood higher up the cliff than that of any other person, and inscribed there, it was said, by the General, long before the revolutionary war, when he was an obscure individual, and a young man. The aspirant to fame succeeded in his object of passing beyond the spot where Washington's name was written, and inscribed his own above it. But on looking below to survey the height over which he had climbed, he conceived that it might be as easy and more safe to complete the remainder of the

ascent, than to retrace his steps ; and the resolution was thence formed to attempt it. His efforts were crowned with success ; but when he reached the summit, and threw himself prostrate on the earth above, he fainted, according to some, and lost his reason, according to others ; the name of this adventurous individual has not, however, been preserved. On looking at the spot, it would seem impossible for any one to accomplish such an ascent ; but the records of extraordinary daring are too full of acts of astonishing achievements, to make it easy to set limits to the personal energies of man, under peculiar circumstances of danger or excitement. No one here doubts, however, but that the fact was really and truly accomplished as described.

The fragment of a tree was shown us, quite close to the edge of the precipice, about two feet of its trunk only remaining above the ground. This is firmly rooted in the crevices of the rock, and marks the spot where this adventurous youth effected his landing from below. On this tree, we were told, a young lady from the South recently stood on one foot, turned herself round three times, waving her handkerchief in the air, giving three huzzas for Georgia, her native State, and challenging, as she might safely do, the other States of the Union to produce a lady who would beat this ; for not one person in a thousand would be able to attempt it without becoming dizzy, and not one in a million would be able to accomplish this feat, as performed by the iron-nerved and steady-headed young Georgian, the Amazon of the West.

All around the valley, both above and below the

Bridge, are large masses of fallen rock, which seem to indicate that a much larger portion of the space between the hills, was once covered with a massive roof, like the fragment which remains. What is now seen, therefore, is but the wreck of some ancient cave, every part of which has successively fallen in, except that which constitutes the Bridge, the fragments being successively rolled away by the stream. As you stand immediately under the arch, the smooth and rounded appearance of the under surface looks exceedingly like the roof of a cavern, and the slight twist or turning of the whole mass, as it does not stand with its sides perfectly parallel, strengthens that appearance. It is remarkable that the dark moss which has accumulated on the under surface of the arch, has spread itself in such a manner as to portray the distinct forms of an eagle and a lion; the former with its wings expanded, and the latter couchant. There is not the slightest appearance of art in either of the figures, nor is it easy to imagine that any one could ever obtain access to that elevated point to make the delineation. I believe them to be entirely the production of nature; but the forms are very remarkable, as the couching lion and the wing-spread eagle aptly represent the cessation of the ancient power of Britain over the "Old Dominion," and the succession of the American republic; the eagle being the national emblem of America, as the lion is of England.

The elevation of this valley is upwards of 1,000 feet above the level of the sea; the rock is limestone; and the country in which it is situated is called Rockbridge, from this remarkable object, which

forms the only pass across the ravine, for a distance of several miles. The scenery around is peculiarly beautiful ; the North Ridge, called by the Indians, from its apparently interminable length, the Endless Mountain, on the one side, and the Blue Ridge, with the Peaks of Otter, on the other. There are few spots on the globe, where beauty and sublimity are more effectively combined than here ; and no traveller should omit a visit to one of the most interesting natural curiosities of this extensive and magnificent country. Mr. Jefferson, in his Notes on Virginia, sixty years ago, expressed himself in language which may be as fitly used now, and repeated in all time to come, when he said—

“ If the view from the top be painful from its height, the view from below is delightful in an equal extreme. It is impossible for the emotions, arising from the sublime, to be felt beyond what they are here ; so beautiful an arch ! so elevated, so light, and springing, as it were, up to heaven ! the rapture of the spectator is really indescribable.”

We lingered around the Bridge as long as it was possible, and tore ourselves away with the greatest reluctance ; for I would willingly have passed a week in examining and enjoying it, if possible ; but we were compelled to proceed, and accordingly left it about six o'clock for Lexington. In our way onward, we had a commanding view of the Peaks of Otter on the Blue Ridge, which are considered to be the highest points of all the Virginia mountains, being 4,600 feet above the level of the sea ; the principal peak rising to so sharp a point, that it is said not more than twelve persons can stand on it at once. It is, however, well wooded nearly up to the highest

point, and is often visited by travellers, for the fine view to be obtained from the summit, there being a good horse-road to within about a mile of the top, but the rest of the way has to be performed on foot. We continued to have delightful scenery of hills and glens through the remainder of our way, and passed over the first canal we had seen in the South, this being constructed to navigate boats round the rapids of James river. At nine we reached Lexington, and there halted for the night.

This town was first laid out by an Act of Assembly in 1778, two years after the Declaration of Independence, and was called after the famous Lexington of Massachusetts, where the first blood was shed in the revolutionary war. It was built originally of wood, and in 1794 it was almost wholly destroyed by fire. Since then, the buildings have been chiefly of brick; and it has now the appearance of a well-built and thriving town. It is elevated 902 feet above the level of the sea, and is seated near the bank of the North river, a tributary of the James river. There are about 200 houses, and 800 inhabitants, with three churches—Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist. There is a State Arsenal here, containing 30,000 stand of arms, under the care of a captain and a company of thirty men. In 1782, a male academy was incorporated in Lexington, under the title of Liberty-Hall Academy; but in 1812, it was chartered as a college, and called Washington College. To assist it with funds, General Washington made a donation to it of 100 shares in the James river canal, which produced an annual income of 2,400 dollars; the value of these shares is

now 25,000 dollars. A private citizen of Lexington bestowed another donation of 50,000 dollars; and the Cincinnati Society of Virginia presented it with 15,000 more, making in all 90,000 dollars. It has three neat brick buildings, with accommodation for about 100 students, a library, and philosophical apparatus; and the education obtained there is good and cheap, under a president, two professors, and a tutor. There is a female academy also in the town, called the Ann-Smith Academy, which has a handsome edifice, competent teachers in the usual branches of female education, and nearly 100 pupils. There are three public libraries in the town; and everything wears an air of comfort and prosperity.

We left Lexington on the following morning, August 11, with nine inside and three outside passengers, so that we were sufficiently crowded. Soon after leaving the town, we crossed the James river by a good bridge; and beyond this, we had a fine road and a beautiful country. The Cherry Valley, in which we were still travelling, gave evidence of its having been long since cleared and settled; the fields on all sides were without the stumps of felled trees, which so disfigure the newly cleared lands, and all the fences, gates, and by-roads were in much better condition than they are ever seen in newly settled districts. By far the greater portion of the land was under cultivation, while in the less populous parts of the country the forest still covers nine-tenths of the soil. Towns and villages occur here every ten or twelve miles, instead of being whole days' journies apart, as they are in the remoter parts of the South and West.

At a distance of twelve miles from Lexington, we changed horses at Fairfield, a small village of about 500 inhabitants. We found it, however, almost deserted, as a large camp-meeting was holding within two miles of the town, and nearly all the inhabitants had gone there; the meeting being likely to last three or four days, as we were informed. From hence the road became again rough and rocky; but the splendid views of scenery repaid us for all our inconvenience from this cause. Noble ranges of mountains still bounded our horizon, right and left; while the rich open valley, growing gradually wider and wider as we proceeded, seemed to stretch away for fifty miles ahead of us in the distance. In our road, we had the usual variety of trees, principally oak, as well as the locust, the persimon, and the papaw tree. This last is sometimes called the Indian fig-tree. The fruit is something like a cucumber; but its form is more regular, and its skin smoother. It grows in clusters of four or five, and when ripe, it is of a rich yellow colour. The fruit was a great favourite with the Indians, and their taste, in this respect at least, was good; for while the pulp is highly nutritious, being of the consistence of custard, and having the same creamy smoothness, its flavour is rendered delicious by an admixture of sweetness and spice, so as to be too rich and luscious for many palates, though generally considered exquisite by all. We passed also many fields of broom-corn, so called from the upper part of the stalk being crowned with long and full fibres forming an excellent broom, but resembling in other respects the maize; and after a journey of twelve miles from Fairfield, we reached Greenville.

At this village, which contains a population of about 400 persons, we halted to dine, and were much better entertained than in many of the larger towns. Instead of the constant dish of boiled bacon and beans, which stands at the head of every country table, we had excellent roast beef and roast veal, good vegetables, and light bread. The landlady indeed seemed to take a personal interest and pride in her table, which few American mistresses of hotels do; and the result was, greater excellence in everything upon it, and greater satisfaction in the visitors. Not far from Greenville are some natural curiosities called, the Cyclopean Towers, said to be well worth examination, but which our engagements would not permit us to visit. We pursued our way therefore still over a rocky road, bounded on all sides by splendid scenery; and after another twelve miles we reached Staunton, where we halted for the night.

Staunton, which is 1,152 feet above the level of the sea, is one of the oldest as well as largest of the country towns of Virginia west of the mountains. It was founded by the British long before the revolution; and so early as 1745, a Court of Justice held its sittings in the Court House here, under the Colonial jurisdiction. Its streets are regular, being placed chiefly at right angles with each other; but they are narrower than is usual in the towns on the coast. This is attributed here to the desire that the original inhabitants felt to protect themselves more easily from the Indians, who at that period occupied the greater part of this valley, as well as the mountains, and who took every opportunity to attack the settlements of the whites. Staunton has now about 300



houses, and upwards of 2,000 inhabitants, with very few negroes, or people of colour. There are two Court Houses, one for common and statute-law cases, and one for chancery cases; a public market-house, and four hotels; four churches, Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Episcopalian; one male academy, two female seminaries, and a primary school. A spacious and beautiful edifice standing near the entrance to the town, forms a lunatic asylum for Western Virginia; and an asylum for the deaf and dumb is also about to be erected. There is a weekly paper issued here, the "Staunton Spectator;" and the stores appeared to be all well supplied. In the hotel at which we slept, our bed-room was carpeted and papered, two things which we had not seen together in any hotel since we left England, as far as I remember; the bed-rooms of the hotels being rarely carpeted, and never both carpeted and papered too, that I can recollect, the walls being almost always whitewashed, and the carpeting being mere strips by the bed-side.

We were desirous of proceeding from Staunton to Wyer's Cave, it being only seventeen miles distant from this; but the number of persons travelling at this season, made it impossible for us to get extra coaches for the journey. We were, therefore, obliged to proceed on to Waynesborough, a distance of eleven miles to the eastward, on the mail-stage route, and trust to our getting private conveyances from thence to the Cave. We, accordingly, left Staunton at one o'clock, and, after a pleasant ride of three hours, we reached Waynesborough at four. Here we were fortunate in being able to procure two carriages and

horses, which conveyed our party and baggage to Wyer's Cave, a distance of fourteen miles in about three hours.

Waynesborough is a small and scattered village, containing about 500 inhabitants. It has three churches—Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist; and there are several Dunkers in the town and neighbourhood, but these have no stated place of worship. On the road from it to the Cave, there are some rich and solemn woods; and on emerging from one of these, we had a commanding view of an extensive and highly-cultivated plain, embracing, perhaps, 100,000 acres of the most fertile land, slightly dotted with clustered trees, like the finest parks in England, and presenting altogether the richest agricultural landscape that we had yet seen in the country. It struck us as more like the best parts of the Vale of Taunton, by the ruins of Glastonbury Abbey, than anything to which we could compare it at home; but being much more extensive in area, and bounded by much more lofty mountains; I thought it still more resembled the beautiful plain of Damascus, though it wanted the meanderings of

“Abana and Pharpar—lucid streams,”

as Milton appositely calls them, to make the resemblance complete. But as a rich and fertile plain, nothing could surpass it in beauty. A portion of it I understood was called the Long Meadows, for it is both pastoral and agricultural, being equally well adapted for both. We passed through the small villages of New Hope and Mount Meridian, on our way, reached the house at Wyer's Cave about eight o'clock, and found shelter there for the night.

## CHAP. XVII.

Entrance into Wyer's Cave—The Dragon Room—Solomon's Temple—Falls of Niagara—Barney's Hall—The Lawyer's Office—The Armoury—Shield of Ajax—Twin Room—The Bannister Room—The Tan Yard—The Cathedral—Coronation Chair and Canopy—The Drum Room—Musical Sounds from Pillars—The Ball Room—Paganina's Statue—Jacob's Ladder—Congress Hall—Washington's Hall—The Crucifixion—Rock of Gibraltar—The Pyramids—Pompey's Pillar—Cleopatra's Needle—Julius Cæsar—Mark Antony—Leaning Tower of Pisa—The Theatre—Lady Washington's Boudoir—Hanging Mirror—The Church—Diamond Bank—Choir, and Steeple—The Gallery—Organ—Lafayette's Pew—Mount Blanc—Garden of Eden—Banian Tree—The Dining Room—The Wilderness—The Giant's Causeway—The Natural Bridge—Napoleon and his Guards crossing the Alps—Jefferson Hall—The Tower of Babel—Sir Walter Scott's Hall—Tomb and Library—Snow Hill—Minerva and her Shield—Niobe in Tears—Gothic Temple—The Fly Trap—Statue of Bruce—Sources of the Nile—Second Entry into the Cave when illuminated—Military Band—New effects of the moving groups and varied lights—Drunkenness and riots at the hotel.

WE remained at the hotel here for three days, during which we examined every part of Wyer's Cave at our leisure, going in on the first occasion with the regular guides, a son of the proprietor of the land, who conducted us through all its halls and passages, explaining and describing the several most remarkable objects as he went along, and affording us ample time for the most deliberate investigation, which was pursued in the following order—

The temperature of the Cave being usually about 50°, while the external atmosphere was now about 80°, it was thought prudent to put on warm clothing

for the descent; but as many parts of the interior are wet and dirty, from the continual oozings of water through the roof of the Cave on the soft clay, the gentlemen of our party, including a few visitors to the spot like ourselves, whom we found at the hotel, appeared to have collected their worst garments for the purpose, and some were arrayed in a manner the most grotesque. Hats were dispensed with, as an unnecessary incumbrance, and handkerchiefs tied closely round the head were substituted in their place. The ladies of our party, of whom there were now twelve in number, wore also their warmest dresses, some covering even these with old cloaks and coats. Bonnets and caps were placed in the catalogue of hindrances with hats, and left behind; and every fair face was enveloped with a shawl or handkerchief of some description, wrapped round the neck and head. Each individual was provided with a candle, to be held in a semicircular lantern, open in front and dark in the rear, in one hand, while a stick or umbrella was used by many as a prop or support in the other. A more motley group never appeared on any stage, than the party now assembled; but all were in high spirits, and good humour prevailed.

The entrance to the Cave is in the northern side of a hill, about 300 feet high from the base, and the ascent to this is by a steep narrow zigzag path, about half-way up the hill in perpendicular height, but measuring at least 100 yards in length, and only to be ascended on foot. A small gate, secured by a lock, guarded the entrance; before passing through which, the fee of a dollar for each person entering the Cave must be paid to the proprietor. From this

entrance, the descent is first made through a low and narrow passage, which gets gradually lower and lower, from ten feet at the beginning to about four feet in the middle. This obliged all who entered to stoop considerably, and almost to crawl down the latter part of the passage in a south-west direction, and at an angle of about  $20^{\circ}$ . At twenty-four feet beyond the entrance, the passage widens, and becomes more lofty, and this brings you to the first apartment. This is called the Dragon's Room, from a fancied resemblance of some of the stalactites hanging from the roof, to the creature whose name it bears. In this room, the centre of which is thirty feet high, there is a singular cavernous recess, overhanging the aperture from behind, which is called the Devil's Gallery, for what reason we could not learn.

From hence onward, the way leads through a long and narrow passage, sixty-six feet in length, three feet in breadth, and twelve in height. At the end of this is a perpendicular descent of thirteen feet, by means of a ladder placed there for the purpose. This brings you into a larger apartment, of irregular shape, about thirty feet long, forty-five broad, and forty feet high. This is called Solomon's Temple, from the abundance of the beautiful masses of stalactites, which are now seen in the richest clusters and most fanciful groupings all around. One portion of it has the name of Solomon's Throne, from its resemblance to an elevated and elaborately adorned seat. In utter defiance of the "unities," however, another mass of stalactytes has received the name of the Falls of Niagara, from their striking resemblance to a grand cataract foaming over a perpendicular cliff,

and suddenly arrested by the process of petrefaction in their descent.

To the left of this apartment, and nearly in the centre of the floor, rises a large isolated stalagmite, like a column springing from the ground, and this is called Solomon's Pillar. Still onward to the left, beyond this, is another apartment, the roof of which is thickly studded with the most beautiful stalactites, descending perpendicularly, of various shapes and sizes, but producing altogether an effect greatly superior to the fretted roof of any Gothic hall, or gorgeous chancel of any cathedral in Europe. When the lights of the party were all raised high against this splendid roof, it sparkled as if powdered with the dust of diamonds, and was altogether the richest thing I had ever beheld ; yet so unfortunate are the Americans generally in their nomenclature, that they could invent no better name for this exquisitely-roofed chamber, than that of the Radish-Room, from the pointed and tapering form of the stalactites dropping from it.

Retracing our steps from hence, back to the Temple of Solomon, we passed onward in the original line of direction, about south-west, and came to another ladder, by which we ascended a height of twelve feet, to an upper level. This brought us to what is called The Porter's Lodge, an apartment of inferior interest, lessening in height from thirty feet to ten feet, and being about fifty feet in length and fifteen in breadth. Here we entered the room called Barney's Hall ; the said Barney being an old Commodore of the American navy, who was rendered popular from some exploit performed with a cannon

at Bladensburgh ; the hero himself being represented by an upright stalagmite, and his great gun lying beside him in a prostrate stalactite, of a circular form, and of the ordinary dimensions of a ship's cannon.

The main passage of the Cave here turns to the right, in a westerly direction ; but if the visitor diverges to the left, instead of pursuing the main passage, he will find three highly interesting rooms, which are not always shown, but are well worth a visit. These are—First, the Lawyer's Office, a large irregularly shaped room, where desks, boxes, and parchment rolls, have suggested to the fanciful, the name bestowed ; and in which a delicious draught of water may always be procured by the collected drops of a pure crystal fluid oozing through the roof, and collected in a little reservoir below. Secondly, Bernard Wyer's Hall, so called in honour of the discoverer of the Cave, a hunter of this name, who, in 1804, while ranging these hills in pursuit of game, discovered this to be the retreat of a ground-hog, who had carried off his traps, and secreted them within the mouth of the Cave. The pursuit and slaughter of this animal, led Wyer to see enough of the interior of this cavernous retreat, to desire to explore it further, and by his enterprise its beauties were first brought to light. In the chamber or hall bearing his name, are two figures, which, by a little aid of the imagination, may be transferred into the daring hunter and his faithful dog. Thirdly, The Arsenal, or, as it is sometimes also called, The Armory, where a very beautiful incrustation of stalactitic matter has received the appropriate name of

The Shield of Ajax; and where other accompaniments of an armory may be traced around.

From this digression from the main course of the Cave, it is necessary to return again to Barney's Hall, and proceeding onward from thence, we came next, by a low passage of not more than five feet in height, to the Twin Room, in which there are two stalagmites, nearly equal in size and form, which gave rise to the name; and where a large and deep hollow, with a small aperture or entrance, is called the Devil's Bake-oven; it is so deep and dark, that we could not see the bottom of it. This room is very low, decreasing from ten to five feet in height; but it led us soon into a loftier apartment, about thirty-six feet high, where the stalactites are more uniformly regular and perpendicular than general, for which reason it is called the Bannister Room, and no name could be more appropriate.

At the end of this apartment, the passage is again lowered to four feet, and requires the visitors to stoop considerably; but we were soon relieved by arriving at a large open space, which obliged us to descend, by a ladder, a perpendicular height of thirty feet, into a large and lofty apartment, called the Tan Yard. This is one of the most beautiful and extraordinary of all the parts of the Cave we had yet seen. On the floor are several deep hollows, which suggested the idea of tan-pits; but that which particularly warrants the name given, is the collection of large sheet masses of stalactitic matter, of a lightish brown colour, hanging edgewise downward, like so many tanned skins, or hides of leather, suspended on rails or beams; the resemblance is perfect, and no



effort of art could make it more so. In this same division of the Cave, is a part, which is called the Cathedral, and not unaptly so, as there are many portions, where clustered pillars, lofty aisles, and groined roofs, with stalactites depending, well warrant the appellation. In this portion of it, is a double stalagmite, with a hollow seat between two upright pillars, like the ancient stone chair, in which the kings of Scotland were crowned, and immediately over this seat is the most beautiful canopy that can be conceived. It is circular in shape, and about the size and form of the sounding-boards suspended over the pulpits of the Episcopal churches in England; but its chief beauty consists in this—that the stalactites here fall in graceful folds like the richest drapery. The under part of the canopy is of a lightish-brown colour, from the admixture of ferruginous clay with the petrified mass; while all around its outer edge is a fringe of drapery still more soft and flowing in its folds, yet pure as alabaster, and white as the driven snow. This is called the French Crown, but the Coronation Canopy would be a better name. It is, however, the most extraordinary formation, for beauty of shape and material, yet seen in the Cave.

The next apartment to this is smaller in extent, and about twenty feet in height. It is called the Drum Room, a name it derives from a most singular wall or partition of sheet-stalactite, like the hides of tanned leather, before described; or the drapery of the canopy over the throne. The thickness of the sheets is not more than half an inch; but in this instance they descend from the roof to touch the

floor, though still preserving their waving folds, and resemble a curtain dividing two rooms. On striking the largest fold of this singular partition, near one of its sides, it gives out a deep sound, like that of a bass drum ; and as the succeeding portions of the same substance, which have their folds narrower and narrower, are afterwards struck, they give out other sounds, more or less grave or acute according to the diameter of the fold, each having its separate note, like the horns in a Russian band, or the pipes of a large organ.

At the end of this apartment is a flight of steps, by which we ascended seven feet perpendicular ; and this brought us to a narrow passage, not more than nine feet high. Walking through this, we came to a descending ladder of ten feet in depth, which landed us on the floor of the largest apartment yet visited. This is called the Ball Room. It has a slight curvature or sweep in its length, and runs at right angles to the passage by which we approached it. The floor, which is of hard and compact clay, is perfectly level, and the space being a hundred feet long, thirty-six broad, and twenty-five high, forms as fine a ball-room as most cities possess ; and far more curious, if not more beautiful. In this singular apartment, besides the rich stalactites which cover the walls and roof, there are two isolated pillars or stalagmites, rising from the floor. On one of these, called the National Candlestick, lights are usually placed ; and the other, called Paganini's Statue, is used for a music-stand, when balls are given in the Cave. There would be ample room for two hundred persons to dance at the same time here, without inconvenience, at a distance

of more than five hundred feet within the entrance of the Cave.

Leading out from this ball-room, is a singular little apartment called The Dressing-Room, to enter which, it is necessary to stoop very low, as the entrance is not more than four feet high. Immediately opposite to this entrance, is an immense pillar-like stalactite, descending from the roof, with its extreme point scarcely a foot from the floor, and resembling the straightened tusk of some huge mammoth of the antediluvian world.

In the ball-room are also portions bearing the names of The Side Board, and The Town-Clock, from resemblances suggesting these appellations. Leading onward from this room, is a gradual sloping ascent, of about forty feet, over a part which is called The Frenchman's Hill. It appears that some time since, a French traveller visited this Cave, and was conducted through it by the guide in the usual way. They had completed their examination of it, and were on their return out; when, on reaching this spot, the lights of both were extinguished, without their possessing the means of rekindling them. Fortunately, the guide was sufficiently familiar with all the passages, winding and intricate as some of them are, to be enabled to conduct the traveller safely through the darkness; giving this name, however, to the spot where the lights went out, to commemorate the event. An American gentleman hearing this story some time after, and believing, with that self-confidence which is so characteristic of the nation, that he could achieve the same feat, resolved to try the experiment; so, sending his companions a

sufficient distance ahead, to deprive himself of the benefit of their lights, he undertook to find his way out from the ball-room to the entrance, in darkness and alone. He had not proceeded far, however, before he lost his footing, and fell into a pit or opening, where he lay, not much injured by his fall, but utterly unable to make his distant companions hear his cries for their help. At length, however, these, finding his absence so much longer than they thought reasonable, returned to seek him, and finding him in the unexpected resting-place into which he had fallen, they lifted him up out of the pit, and from this circumstance they named it "Patterson's Grave," by which it will probably always be known.

Beyond this we passed through a long and irregular strait, called the Narrow Passage, which is fifty-two feet in length, from three to five feet in breadth, and from four to eight feet in height. At the end of this we found a descent into an open space on a lower level, to which we went down by a natural flight of steps, called Jacob's Ladder. As in this comparatively small apartment, they have made all things bend to this patriarchal nomenclature, they have absurdly enough called one of the objects, Jacob's Tea-table! and another, Jacob's Ice-house! From hence we passed again through another narrow passage, and by it reached a dark gloomy apartment, called the Dungeon; the whole depth of this from the top of the ladder being about thirty feet.

From this we passed into a room, where a singular formation of a large horizontal sheet projects out from the wall, half way across the apartment, like an upper floor, constituting, as it were, a gallery

to the apartment below. This, no doubt, suggested the name given to the place, which is called the Senate Chamber ; and the again, most probably, led to the name of the adjoining room, which is called the Congress Hall. This room is an irregular circle in shape, of very uneven floor, and in some portions about thirty feet in height. In one part of it is a large sloping mass of rock, which resembles in shape, though miniature in size, the promontory on the Hudson river, called St. Anthony's Nose, and hence this projection is called by the same name ; while a small gallery above is denominated the Lobby, as an appendage to the Hall.

On the right of this, to the north, is a vast, deep, and dark recess, into which, it is said, no one has yet descended, so as to explore it thoroughly, from the air being found impure by those who have gone into it a little way, and it has the forbidding appellation of The Infernal Regions.

At the end of the Congress Hall, an ascending flight of steps, about seventeen feet in height, leads the visitor up to the narrow passage called The Lobby. It is said, that from this place there is an upper channel, leading all the way to the end of the Cave, but the larger and more beautiful apartments being below, the guides descend from hence by another flight of steps, about seventeen feet in depth, and bring you to one of the largest and most beautiful apartments of the whole, called Washington's Hall. Like the great Ball-Room, its floor is nearly level throughout, but it is of much greater length, of almost uniform breadth and height, and perfectly straight from one end to the other, its dimensions being

257 feet in length, from 15 to 20 feet in breadth, and about 30 to 35 feet in height. Nearly in the centre of this noble Hall, is a large stalagmite, with accumulations of calcareous deposit, rising up from the floor to a height of about seven feet. When the guides advance before the visitors, and place their lights around this at a little distance, it looks so like a fine marble statue clothed with flowing drapery, that there is great difficulty in persuading yourself that it is not a work of art, the material having that yellowish hue which old statuary marble exposed to a damp atmosphere acquires, and the form being such as to represent a hero or a warrior, surrounded with his robes of state.

The sides and roof of this apartment are full of beauties, and the columnar and other masses of stalactitic matter are so diversified in form and combination, that they have suggested the following very different and very distant objects, as being more or less represented.—The Crucifixion is the name given to three upright stalagmites, the central one taller than those on either side, and resembling the Saviour crucified between two thieves. The Rock of Gibraltar is represented by a huge mass of broken and fretted rock, not unlike the great original in shape; while the very narrow passage which lies between it and the adjacent mass, is called The Straits of Gibraltar. Within these Straits, and behind the Rock, is a formation of a tapering shape, called The Pyramids of Egypt; and at the farther end of the Hall, are some lofty spiral columns, which are called respectively, Pompey's Pillar, and Cleopatra's Needle. This again led to the naming two of the shorter sta-

lagmites of the statuary kind, Julius Cæsar and Marc Anthony. One of these spiral columns, however, of considerable height, leaning over several degrees from its perpendicular, and seeming in the act of falling, we proposed to call, from its resemblance to the great original, The Leaning Tower of Pisa.

Leading off from Washington's Hall, are two small but highly interesting apartments, the first of which, near the entrance on the left, is called The Theatre, from the several beds of stalactites having formed themselves on different levels or elevations, resembling, in some degree, the subdivisions of box, pit, and gallery, while, to make the theatrical arrangement complete, a small adjoining aperture is denominated The Green Room.

The second of these apartments, leading out from the Hall, and having its entrance nearly opposite to Washington's statue, is called Lady Washington's Dressing-Room; and in this is one of the most extraordinary formations to be found in the whole Cave. This is a mass of sheet-stalactite, which leans off from the wall at a distance of about a foot at the top, gradually lessening in distance till it touches the wall at the bottom. In shape, it is nearly a square, rounded off at the corners, being about three feet in diameter each way. It resembles, as much as possible, an old-fashioned mirror, placed against the wall, touching the wall at the bottom, but leaning off from it at the top, so as to admit of the spectator seeing his image reflected at the proper angle; and this mirror, moreover, is placed just at the proper height, as well as at the proper angle of outward inclination, to serve the purpose of a toilet. How, or in what

manner, this singular formation was produced, I could form no idea on the spot, and all present confessed themselves at a loss even to conjecture. In the same interesting apartment, is a recess called The Kitchen ; a hollow in the wall called The Fireplace ; and a little tabular bench called The Toilet, close by the mirror, around which are folds like drapery, and all this in the hard concrete matter, of which the whole of the interior of the Cave is formed !

From this chamber we returned to Washington's Hall, and, proceeding on to the end of it in a south-west direction, we reached a narrow passage, the height of which is considerably less than that of the Hall. Here we found a descent of about ten feet, after passing a little recess on the right, called The Bar-Room, from its possessing a pure and limpid spring ; though, unhappily, the fiery liquid furnished by the poisonous and intoxicating fountains of bar-rooms, is so unlike the crystal water obtained here, that the name is most inappropriate.

Going down this descent of about ten feet, by steps prepared for the purpose, we landed in another large apartment, called The Church. This is 152 feet in length, from 10 to 15 in breadth, and 60 feet in height, and is altogether very splendid. At its entrance, on the left, is a mass of rock, so glittering with the profusion of small crystals formed on the surface, that it is called the Diamond Bank. At the farther end of the Church, is an elevation called The Choir, over which rises a fine whitish spiral column, springing up to a height of about 40 feet, and called the Steeple. About the centre of the church, in length, is a recess, high up in the wall, which is called



The Gallery ; and behind this, but in full view from below, are a number of perpendicular and columnar stalactites, varying in diameter like the front pipes of an organ, and giving out, when struck, or when a stick is drawn rapidly across them in succession, a variety of sounds at the pitch of different notes, grave or acute, according to the size of the pillar, and hence this is called The Organ. To give due honour to the illustrious Lafayette—who, in the minds of every American, is justly associated with Washington,—the General has a seat assigned to him in this church, which is called Lafayette's Pew.

Returning back a little through the Church, and turning to the left, we entered a very spacious, but not a remarkably interesting apartment, which is called Jackson's Room, in honour of the late President. From this, a narrow passage leads to a circular hollow recess, called The Confectioner's Room, from the resemblance which certain of the short thick columns there bear to sugar hogsheads.

Going back again from thence to the Church, and proceeding towards its further extremity, near the steeple, we turned off to the left in an easterly direction, by a narrow strait, into a circular recess, which is called the Entrance to the Garden of Eden ; and where a lofty and inaccessible rock has received the name of Mont Blanc. From this, a second narrow passage conducts the visitor into The Garden of Eden, which is extremely beautiful ; the stalactites depending from the roof, and the stalagmites ascending to meet them from the floor, being here more numerous and more perfectly corresponding, than in any other part of the Cave. Some of the formations are so

singular, that one has received the name of the Banian Tree. This stands near the entrance to a small recess leading out from The Garden of Eden, named Adam's Bedchamber. The Banian Tree is enumerated by Milton, in the *Paradise Lost*, as one of the trees of the Garden of Eden, and no tree could be better represented by the stalactitic formations, than that which he thus describes—

“So counselled he, and both together went  
 Into the thickest wood; there soon they chose  
 The fig-tree, not that kind for fruit renowned,  
 But such as at this day to Indians known  
 In Malabar or Deccan spreads her arms,  
 Branching so broad and long, that in the ground  
 The bended twigs take root, and daughters grow  
 About the mother tree,—a pillar'd shade,  
 High overarch'd, with echoing walks between.”

PARADISE LOST, Book ix.

On returning from The Garden of Eden back into The Church, we passed underneath The Steeple, elevated on an arch of ten feet, into a lofty apartment, fifty feet high, called The Dining Room. This has its name from a natural bench of the rock, with a horizontal slab, about the proper height and dimensions to form a convenient side-table. From this, we advanced onward through a rough and narrow pathway, called The Wilderness, where, though the breadth is not greater than ten feet, the height exceeds ninety feet, and is indeed the loftiest part of the whole Cave.

Above this, on the left, is a high mass or ledge of rock, called The Giant's Causeway, rising from twenty to forty feet above the lower level, and yet having from fifty to seventy feet from thence to the roof. Along this it is practicable to walk, and the

effect is greatly improved, if a portion of the party take the lower path, and one the higher, as their relative positions and lights enable each to see better than they otherwise could do, the grandeur of the proportions, and the magnificent altitude of the cave. Upon the edge of the precipice are several rising stalagmites, of different heights, so grouped as to have suggested the idea of Napoleon crossing the Alps, attended by his body-guard ; and, whether seen from above or below, but particularly the latter, the effect of this group, standing on the crest of a rocky eminence, and just passing the most difficult point, is very striking. That nothing might be wanting to make the romantic picture complete, there is, not far from this group, an open arch in the rock, over which the party above can pass, while the party below are going through underneath ; and this is appropriately called The Natural Bridge.

The passage through this brings you to the last grand apartment of the Cave, and on the lowest part of the whole, being about fifty feet below the level of the entrance at the mouth. This is called Jefferson's Hall. It is irregular in shape, and has several chambers and recesses leading out of it ; but its dimensions are on the whole, 235 feet in length from 30 to 90 in breadth, and varying, in different parts, from 15 to 90 feet in height.

Just as we entered this Hall, and on the right hand as we passed along, we saw an immense mass of stalagmite, rising from the ground, thirty-six feet in length, thirty feet in breadth, and thirty feet in height, of a rounded oval in shape, broadest at the base, and slightly diminishing towards the summit. The great peculiarity and beauty of this mass con-

sists in its being composed of several stories or stages, which are separated from each other by horizontal layers of crystallized spar, and from layer to layer, the space is filled up by perpendicular flutings, formed by the dropping stalactites descending from stage to stage. This is most happily denominated, the Tower of Babel; for though not strictly resembling the mass that yet remains of this stupendous edifice, on the plains of Shinar—on which I stood during my visit to the Ruins of Babylon—it is nevertheless very like the popular representations of the Tower of Babel accompanying the old editions of the Bible. The resemblance is the more striking, as the unfinished mass, like the original tower, never rose to its natural termination at a point, but seems like an edifice abandoned by the builders before it was complete. If this mass is strikingly beautiful in front, it is still more exquisitely so in the rear; and though the ascent to the cavity behind it is difficult, it is well worth the attempt to get there, as from it the whole structure is indescribably grand, and this one sight is quite sufficient to repay all the toil of getting so far into the Cave.

Behind and above this, are two deep and hollow recesses, forming separate apartments, but communicating with each other. The first of these is called Sir Walter Scott's Hall, and an elevation like an altar in its centre is called Sir Walter Scott's Tomb. The second apartment is named Sir Walter Scott's Library; and in the beautiful petrifications and incrustations with which the roofs and walls of these apartments are covered, may well be imagined the ancient armour, antique weapons, and heraldic and

baronial trophies, with which the hall and library of Abbotsford were adorned.

Further on, within the Hall, is another huge mass of stalagmite, nearly as large as that which is called The Tower of Babel, and partially resembling it in some portions of its formation, but having on the top a mass of the purest and most snowy white, while the general hue of the lower part is that dull yellow which marble acquires by long exposure to a damp atmosphere. This dazzling whiteness of the upper portion of the mass has caused it to be called by the very appropriate name of Snow Hill.

In the intermediate space between these two remarkable masses, and still within the apartment called Jefferson's Hall, are the following remarkable objects. The Half-Moon, where a crescent form is seen on the brown wall of stalactite, of purest white, just like the rising or the setting moon. Minerva and her Shield, and Niobe in tears, are names given to statue-like columns that have some faint resemblance to forms such as these. On the left, and nearly opposite to the mass called Snow-Hill, is a beautiful little recess, called The Gothic Temple, full of the most fanciful forms, and within it is a small spring, as if to furnish a fount of holy water for the worshippers. On the right, and beyond the mass of Snow-Hill, is a formation quite as singular and beautiful, called by some The Oyster Shell, and by others, The Fly Trap. These are two thin lamellar rocks of sheet-stalactite, oval or nearly circular in shape, and from five to six feet in diameter. Like the two shells of an oyster, these are joined at the smaller and inner end, and grow wider and wider

apart as they approach towards the larger and outer end, being at that point about three or four feet asunder. The inner parts of these singular sheets of rock are nearly smooth ; but the outer parts have the most fanciful formations attached to them ; the under one especially has a collection of many folds, like the bosom-ruffle of a shirt, or the full-lace trimmings of a lady's cap, depending in thin perpendicular laminæ, or edgewise, from the surface, and so translucent, that the light of a candle can be seen distinctly through them. Some portions of this mass are snowy white, while others are yellowish, and others brown ; but taken altogether, it may be regarded as one of the most curious and interesting of the many remarkable objects in the Cave.

Just beyond this point, is an opening or recess in the wall, at a distance of twelve feet from the ground, the ascent to which is made by a moveable ladder. By climbing up and entering this recess, we arrived at the termination of the Cave, at a distance of 2,500 feet from the entrance, counting the length of the several chambers and passages in a straight line, and the lateral digressions made on either side. Here there is a fine clear spring, the well or fountain of which is covered over with a thin pellicle of stalagmite, yet sufficiently strong to bear the weight of a person standing on it ; and by means of a hole through this crust or covering, the water is obtained. As this is the last point in the Cave, and one of the most difficult to attain, they have given the name of one of the most enterprising of travellers, Bruce, to a stalagmite at the entrance ; and they have called

this sealed fountain, which has been but recently broken, The Source of the Nile.

These were the objects seen by us in the order described, during our first visit with the guide, when we had leisure to examine everything, and were uninterrupted by others. On a second visit, however, we saw the greater number of them again, with some new ones that had escaped our former research ; as we entered it a few days after, in company with a large crowd of about 400 persons, and when the whole of the vast interior of the Cave was lighted up with 2,000 candles. This illumination of these subterranean halls took place on the 15th of August, at the expense of the proprietor, who keeps the hotel, and being extensively advertised in the newspapers, brought, of course, large numbers from the surrounding country, as well as some travellers from a distance to visit it. We remained for three days at the Cave, to witness this view. We had all anticipated, however, more of splendour than the reality produced. Instead of 2,000 candles, it would require 2,000 lamps to light it sufficiently, though 200 gas chandeliers would be more appropriate than either. We found the crowd also a hindrance and obstruction to our enjoyment ; and as a large number among them seemed to be wholly insensible to the beauty and grandeur of the scene before them, their impatience to get out again was excessive. One of the gentlemen, indeed—some said from haste, and others from a less excusable cause—fell into one of the yawning pits not far from the entrance, and received a wound in the head ; and after lying in the dark dungeon for

some time, he was at length drawn out, bleeding and fainting. The music—for on this occasion a band was introduced into the Cave—was too noisy, and the auditors were too vociferous, so that, altogether, we rejoiced heartily at having had the opportunity of a private view before this public one commenced ; though it was worth while to see it under both aspects, for the many new effects which the lights, insufficient 'as they were, really produced. One of these new effects, was the sight of some twenty different groups, of five or six each, at different points of elevation in the Cave, all with lights in their hands, some ascending, some descending, some stationary, and others sweeping around some difficult point in a long and winding train ;—giving the finest realization of what is sometimes attempted to be represented by scenery or canvass, in the delineation of robbers' caves and banditti, in melo-dramatic pieces on the stage, but here rendered more impressive from the constantly diminishing distance of the successive groups, and the hollow laugh, the noisy shout, and the dim receding murmur of conversation in the several moving parties of this living scene. Another new effect was the view which the long avenues of Washington Hall and Jefferson Hall presented, the former 257, and the latter 235 feet in extent, with at least 500 lights in view at one time. The descent into the former of these was strikingly impressive. Standing on the top of the flight of steps leading down into the Hall, the view below and before us was grand in the extreme ; and what greatly heightened its beauty, was a very ingenious arrangement on the part of the person who lighted up the



Cave, who, after placing 400 lights along the two sides, carried up 100 lights on the inclined pillar, which we had called The Leaning Tower of Pisa, at the end of the Hall: and this, at a distance, gave the idea of a steep ascending and winding road, dwindling away at an almost interminable distance. Those who have remarked the fine effect of the wavy lines of lamps, in the unlevel streets at the west end of London, on a dark night—where every difference in the elevation or depression of the level of the surface, is indicated by a corresponding elevation or depression of the lights—will fully appreciate the great additional beauty which this ingenious lighting up of the tower produced, to the eye of the distant spectator, at the opposite extremity of the Hall.

Altogether, this Cave may be regarded as one of the most extraordinary productions of this or any other country; and it is alone well worth a voyage across the Atlantic to visit. There are many other caves in Virginia—for the ridges of the Alleghanies formed, as they are, of cavernous limestone, are full of them—but none are thought so grand or beautiful as this. One of these, called Madison's Cave, is close by this of Wyer's, and you pass the entrance of it in going from the hotel. This is said to be very large, but dark, gloomy, and dangerous. It has lakes in it of thirty and forty feet in depth, across which men have gone in boats, and found inaccessible barriers of rock on the opposite side; but the sound of rushing waters is heard in the vast space beyond. This cave was known many years before Wyer had discovered the one that now bears his name, though the entrances of each are not a

quarter of a mile apart. Madison's is described by Mr. Jefferson, in his Notes on Virginia, as being from forty to fifty feet high, and having its sides clothed with incrustations formed by the percolation of water through the roof, in the shape of elegant drapery.

We returned home from our second visit to the Cave much exhausted, and should have been glad to enjoy tranquillity and repose. But this was a luxury denied to us. We had made arrangements for our carriages to come for us on the day following the illumination, and could not now, therefore, get away before. We regretted deeply the necessity of our stay; for, during all the afternoon, scenes of riot and drunkenness among the young men from the surrounding country—who had visited the Cave, for the sake of seeing the company—were almost unintermitted; and as the landlord of the hotel, and proprietor of the Cave, Mr. Jacob Mohler, placed no restraint on the supply of ardent spirits to all who chose to pay for it at the bar, the drunkenness became more and more general. At length, we saw from our bed-room window, in the green lawn before the house, a regular ring formed, and a pugilistic encounter between the landlord and one of his guests. The drunken visitors seemed to enjoy the sport, till the screams of Mrs. Mohler, who soon heard of her husband's position, induced a few of the more sober to interfere, and part the combatants.

From that hour, about six in the evening, till we left the house, in the carriages which had been sent for us at nine the following morning, there was not a moment of peace. A ball had been advertised as a part of the entertainments of the day, to which

the drunken revellers insisted on their admission ; and though the entrance fee was two dollars and a half for each person, besides paying for the refreshments, this deterred none. What surprised us most was, after all that we had heard of the ultra-delicacy and decorum of the American ladies, that these reeling bacchanals should find partners among them, which they did ; and by their joint efforts, the dancing was kept up till daylight on the following morning ; nor indeed had all of them entirely retired when we left the place, which we did with great joy, to escape from such painful associations. Candour and justice towards the American people generally, however, renders it necessary to state, that this was the only scene of the kind we had yet witnessed, though we had now been two years travelling in this country. The young men were chiefly sons of planters from the surrounding country, with some Southerners from the Virginia Springs, all brought up in the tainted atmosphere of slavery ; and the female visitors were mostly farmers' daughters, from the neighbourhood, who looked to this annual illumination of the Cave, as young country-girls in England do to the recurrence of an annual fair ; at many of which, it is to be feared, similiar scenes to those described, very frequently occur. Both cases prove, however, how dangerous it is to furnish occasions of meeting in large numbers, to the youths of both sexes, or the mere purpose of amusement, without any higher object, and without parental control, as they are almost always sure to be made occasions of great dissipation and folly, and sometimes leave painful consequences in their train.

## C H A P. XVIII.

Journey to Waynesborough through the Rock-fish Gap—Thunderstorm—Mountain scenery—Blue Ridge—Splendid and extensive view from the summit—Descent of the Blue Ridge—Change of temperature—Increase of negroes—Plantations of tobacco—Mode of preparing the weed—Arrival at Charlottesville—Visit to Monticello—Tomb of Jefferson—Description of Jefferson's house at Monticello—Return to Charlottesville—Visit to the University—Conduct of American and English students—Parallel between Corn-laws and Slavery—Leave Charlottesville—Effects of the Slave system—Cotton factory—Jefferson's birth-place—James-Town-weed—Cotton, corn, and tobacco—Journey by railroad to Richmond.

WE left the hotel at Wyer's Cave at nine A.M., on the 16th of August, for Waynesborough, where we arrived at one o'clock and dining there, we left it at three for Charlottesville, by the mail. Our road lay over a comparatively low portion of the Blue Ridge, in a part called the Rock-fish Gap, the elevation of which was not more than 300 feet above the level of the valley. We wound our way up this amidst a heavy storm of thunder, lightning, and rain, which, while it occasioned us some inconvenience from the imperfect protection which all American coaches afford against the elements, added something to the grandeur of the mountain-scenery. The storm abated, however, before we reached the highest part of the

Gap, and the atmosphere becoming clear, we had a splendid and extensive view from the summit ; the mountain-ridges of the west being visible in succession, to a distance of seventy or eighty miles, and the broad plains below us to the east, extending the horizon to an equal distance in that direction : the latter resembling the beautiful view from the summit of Catskill Mountain on the Hudson river, from the great abundance of cleared land intermingled with the forest patches of the surface. We lingered to enjoy this splendid view, as it was the last opportunity we should probably ever possess of dwelling with delight upon the mountain-landscapes of this noble State ; and when we turned the brow of the Blue Ridge, to wind down its eastern face, we took our last gaze with a feeling of admiration, mingled with regret.

The descent of this mountain-barrier brought us, by several smaller ridges, at length, to the lower plain ; and as the point of our passage through the Rock-fish Gap was not elevated more than 300 feet above the upper or western valley, while it was 1,200 feet, at least, above the lower or eastern plain, it followed that this first valley, west of the Blue Ridge, in which Waynesborough, Staunton, and Wyer's Cave are situated, is at least 1,000 feet above the level of the plain, and probably from 1,400 to 1,500 feet above the level of the sea. The difference of temperature was very perceptible to our feelings when we reached the plain, the air being not only warmer, but heavier, and more humid, so that we experienced a very disagreeable change by the transition. This Blue Ridge is the first great mountain-

barrier met with in coming up from the sea-coast on the east; and it is the geographical boundary between the two great divisions of the State into Eastern and Western Virginia. We found here, besides the marked change of temperature, two other corresponding changes;—one, the more frequent cultivation of the tobacco-plant; and the other, the greater abundance of negroes.

There was a marked difference also in the condition of the lands, and in the style and mode of husbandry; everything in this respect was greatly inferior here, to what we had witnessed in the midland region above. Slave-labour, and the cultivation of tobacco, have each had their share in producing this deterioration. This was observed by Mr. Jefferson more than fifty years ago; for in his Notes on Virginia, when speaking of the extensive production of tobacco, of which no less than 70,000 hogsheads were grown in this State in the year, 1758, he says—

“ But the western country on the Mississippi, and the midlands of Georgia, having a better sun, will be able to undersell these two States (Maryland and Virginia), and will oblige them to abandon the raising of tobacco altogether. And a happy obligation for them it will be. It is a culture productive of infinite wretchedness. Those employed in it are in a continued state of exertion beyond the powers of nature to support. Little food of any kind is raised by them, so that the men and animals on these farms are badly fed, and the earth is rapidly impoverished. The cultivation of wheat is the reverse in every circumstance. Besides clothing the earth with herbage, and preserving its fertility, it feeds the labourers plentifully, requires from them only a moderate toil, except in the season of harvest, raises great numbers of animals for food and service, and diffuses plenty and happiness among the whole. It is easier to make a hundred bushels of wheat than a thousand weight of tobacco, and they are worth more when made.”

These opinions of Mr. Jefferson were published in Virginia as long ago as 1786, and considering the high rank, great reputation, and unbounded popularity of their author, one might have hoped that they would have changed the current of public opinion on this subject, and led to the speedy abandonment of so pernicious a culture; but no such result has yet taken place, nor has the competition of the newer States yet effected the object of driving the production from Maryland and Virginia, as Mr. Jefferson anticipated. Like the madness of converting grain, which Nature has given for wholesome food, by the process of distillation, into poisonous spirits, which is practised to so great an extent in all the countries of Europe, this devotion of lands in America, so well adapted to yield sustenance for man, to the cultivation of the poisonous weed tobacco, is one of the strongest perversion of God's best gifts to the worst of purposes; and the process by which this is effected is as disgusting as the result is degrading and deplorable. The process is this: the leaves of the tobacco plant, which are large, green, and spongy, have only an acrid bitter taste while fresh; though even in that condition, no creature of the brute creation will touch it as food. It is prepared, however, for the use of man in the following manner, according to the account of a gentleman who chews the weed himself, and thus described to me the process. The leaves are first gathered, dried, and smoked, in appropriate sheds, the particular descriptions being carefully separated into classes. The finest kinds are then rolled up into balls, to undergo a slight fermentation, during which time the leaf is

sprinkled with stale urine and solution of ammonia. After this process the balls are hung up for some weeks in or near privies, that they may absorb the effluvia of human excrement, and when thought to be well saturated, they are taken down, and pressed into flat cakes, forming a black mass, so hard and compact as to be difficult to be cut with the knife. This is the most choice and most expensive kind of chewing-tobacco made; and it is common to see these little black cakes carried by gentlemen in the waistcoat pocket, from which they take it out from thence, without keeping it in a box or any other covering, cutting off a small piece to replenish their exhausted quid, and chewing it with the greatest apparent enjoyment, as though it were the most exquisite luxury that the earth could yield them. The middling and inferior kinds of tobacco do not undergo so tedious a process of preparation; this refinement being confined to the epicures of the weed.

If the processes by which cigars are rolled together by the filthy and perspiring hands of negroes, in Havannah, aided by occasional emissions of saliva to make the leaves adhere, were more generally known, it would tend to excite as much disgust against smoking, as against chewing; and both of these habits, as well as that of stuffing the nostrils with tobacco powder, as snuff, are so truly dirty, as well as injurious to the health of those who practise them, that they ought to be discountenanced in all educated and refined societies.

After a pleasant ride of five hours from Waynesborough, going a distance of twenty-six miles, we



reached Charlottesville at eight in the evening, and took up our quarters at the Eagle Hotel.

On the following day, August 17, we made a pleasant party with our Baltimore friends, to visit Monticello, the residence of the late Mr. Jefferson, and the site of his tomb, as well as to see the University of Virginia, of which he was the founder, both being within a short distance of Charlottesville.

Winding our way to the south-east from Charlottesville, we crossed a deep valley, and ascended a steep hill, about 500 feet in height, near the summit of which we first came to the tomb of Jefferson; the neglected and wretched condition of which ought to make every American, who values the Declaration of his country's Independence, blush with shame. If the illustrious ex-President had been the contriver of a treasonable plot for the subjugation or enslavement of his country, instead of one of its most distinguished patriots and deliverers, his sepulchre could not be more entirely abandoned. It was at his own desire that his interment should be simple, and his monument plain, and this was in perfect accordance with his republican principles and practice; but this is no excuse whatever for the shameful indifference or neglect of his survivors, in permitting it to be what it now is, a perfect wreck, though little more than ten years have elapsed since his death. As at present seen, the small enclosure, not more than from forty to fifty feet square, had its stone-wall half dilapidated, its wooden gate of entrance broken and unhung, its interior grown over with rank straggled weeds: the simple granite obelisk standing over Mr. Jefferson's remains, chipped at all the angles by

persons carrying off relics ; the marble slab that contained the inscription, directed by himself to be placed there, taken away, and the hollow space which contained it left void in the front of the obelisk ; the marble slab which covered the tomb of his wife close beside the obelisk broken in two, and large portions of one of the broken halves carried away ; in short, the whole place in a state of complete abandonment and disorder.

We ascended from hence, by a short road, to the summit of the hill, and came at length to the platform of lawn, in the centre of which is seated the house, which, for many years, was Mr. Jefferson's dwelling. A very graphic and faithful description of this is given in Wirt's Eulogy on Adams and Jefferson, a portion of which is worth transcribing.

“The Mansion House at Monticello was built and furnished in the days of Mr. Jefferson's prosperity. In its dimensions, its architecture, its arrangements, and ornaments, it is such a one as became the character and fortune of the man. It stands upon an elliptic plain, formed by cutting down the apex of the mountain ; and to the west, stretching away to the north and the south, it commands a view of the Blue Ridge for 150 miles, and brings under the eye one of the boldest and most beautiful horizons in the world ; while on the east it presents an extent of prospect bounded only by the spherical form of the earth, in which Nature seems to sleep in eternal repose, as if to form one of her finest contrasts with the rude and rolling grandeur of the west. From this summit, the philosopher was wont to enjoy that spectacle, among the sublimest of Nature's operations, the looming of the distant mountains ; and to watch the motion of the planets, and the greater revolutions of the celestial sphere. From this summit, too, the patriot could look down with uninterrupted vision upon the wide expanse of the world around, for which he considered himself born : and upward to the open and vaulted

heaven, which he seemed to approach, as if to keep him continually in mind of his high responsibility. It is a scene fit to nourish those great and high-souled principles which formed the elements of his character, and was a most noble and appropriate post for such a sentinel over the rights and liberties of men.”

To the truth and beauty of all this, as far as it regards the description of the scene, I yield my ready and hearty assent; but when I read a preceding portion of this eulogy, in which, when speaking of Mr. Jefferson's attachment to Monticello as his home, the orator asks, “Can anything be indifferent to *us*, which was so dear to *him*?” I felt a very strong desire to have these words engraved on a marble tablet, and placed at the entrance to his neglected cemetery, or in the socket of the granite obelisk, from which the inscription dictated by Mr. Jefferson's own hand has been so sacrilegiously torn. I fear, however, that it would be lost labour and time; for a people who can boast so much of their public men, when themselves and their country are to be indirectly flattered by their praise, and who do so little to honour their memories and their tombs, when their earthly labours are closed, could not be made sensible to shame by appeals to their justice or reason.

We had some difficulty in obtaining an entrance into the house, as it was in the occupation of a family very little disposed to encourage the visits of strangers. The present proprietor is a Captain Levy, of the United States Navy, now absent on duty in the West Indies. He is by birth and religion a Jew, was a common sailor before the mast in the merchant service, rose to be a mate, was admitted from the merchant service into the Navy, and is now a captain.

He is reputed to be very rich, but the present condition of Monticello would not lead the visitor to suppose that it was the property of a person either of taste or munificence. It appears that at the period of his buying it, the house and grounds had become as dilapidated as the tomb, and the roads broken up and destroyed, in which state indeed, they all still remain, for nothing has been done apparently to improve either; but in this condition he purchased the house, the grounds, and 200 acres of farming land, for 2,500 dollars, or 500*l.* sterling,—a sum which any English person would think moderate for a single year's rental of the whole. He is aware, however, that this was a great bargain; for he has since refused 12,000 dollars for the purchase, and fixes 20,000 dollars as its value.

Having obtained admission to the house, we found its interior in a better condition than we had expected. The plan is more showy than convenient, everything being sacrificed to the hall, the drawing-room, and the library; the taste is rather French than English, Mr. Jefferson having resided for a long time in Paris, but it is decidedly good taste; and we thought we had not seen any interior of an American residence in the South, better finished or in more harmonious proportions than this. Inlaid diagonal oak floors, lofty rooms, deep recesses, and appropriate fixtures and furniture, all harmonised well together, and left nothing incongruous among what belonged to the mansion in Mr. Jefferson's time. The present proprietor, however, had made some additions, which were not in the same good keeping. For instance, on first entering the hall, we saw on the right, affixed

to the wall like a picture, the identical marble tablet which was taken from Jefferson's tomb ; and which, here, in the hall of his abode while living, contained this inscription, " Here lies buried, Thomas Jefferson, Author of the Declaration of Independence, and of the Statute for Religious Freedom, and Founder of the University of Virginia." Not far from this was an oil painting, containing a full-length portrait of Captain Levy, in his naval uniform, on the quarter deck of his ship ; and in the same room a small lithograph of the same individual, as boatswain's-mate, with his boatswain's call in his hand, leaning on a quarter-deck gun, and with full trousers and flowing cravat, in true boatswain's mate's style. Not far from this was a lithograph portrait of the celebrated rich banker of Philadelphia, Stephen Girard ; and both these prints were without frame or glass and merely pinned up against the wall. Other incongruities of evidently recent introduction, were strewed around ; but among the relics of its better days, were some good paintings, as well as a full-length statue of Mr. Jefferson, and a good bust of Voltaire.

On retiring from the house, we sat for some time in the Doric portico, which is in excellent taste, and has the very useful additions of a compass inserted in the ceiling above, and a clock in the pediment in front, so that the bearing of every object in the horizon may be easily known. We enjoyed the view from hence greatly, and still more so the extensive and beautiful panorama which is seen from the lawn that surrounds the dwelling, and in which are several beautiful oaks and weeping willows, planted by Mr. Jefferson's own hands. To the south-east, the plain

is level, and boundless as the sea. To the north-west, the town of Charlottesville, and the University of Virginia at a little distance from it are each full in sight. At the foot of the hill, which is 500 feet elevated above the plain, flows the Ravenna river, leading on to its navigable point, called the Piræus, within about a mile of Charlottesville, and ultimately going into the James river, on which Richmond is seated. A noble barrier of mountains forms the back ground of the extensive plain, stretching out in this direction from north to west ; and the happy admixture of cultivated openings, with the woodlands intervening, make it as beautiful as it is grand.

We returned to Charlottesville by the same road ; and though much fatigued by the hills and the hot sun, we went after dinner to see the University, which lies at a short distance from the town. We had been told that it was half a mile only ; but our morning's experience had made us lose all confidence in the accuracy of Virginian measurements of distance ; we found, indeed, upon experiment, that it was at least a mile and half.

The University was not at present in session ; the vacation commencing on the 4th of July, and continuing to the end of August ; so that we saw only a few of the students, who remain here, owing to the great distance of their homes. The space occupied by the buildings is an oblong quadrangle, about 500 feet in length, and 150 in breadth. At the upper end of this open space is the principal edifice. This is a substantial structure of brick, circular in form, crowned with a flattened dome, which wants a terminating lantern, statue, or other elevation, to give it

the proper finish. It has a fine Corinthian portico of ten pillars, with a marble pavement, and chaste pediment; and from this portico the view of the side-ranges of buildings is very imposing. These ranges, occupying the opposite sides of the quadrangle, contain the residences of the professors, connected by pillared avenues, and smaller chambers for the students; and in the former of these there are several excellent specimens of architecture, of the Corinthian, Ionic, and Doric orders. The lower stories of the principal edifice are occupied by the lecture-room and museum of the University; and the whole of the upper story is devoted to the library, which contains upwards of 17,000 volumes. In front of the principal edifice is a fine lawn; continued all the way down to the end of the side-ranges; while the lower part of the quadrangle is left open, which affords an extensive prospect of the country, and adds to the beauty of the scene.

This University was founded by Mr. Jefferson in 1819, and was completed in 1825, in which year it contained 120 students, the number having since progressively increased to upwards of 200. The requisite age for admission is sixteen. On entering, the student undergoes an examination, is required to read the laws, and sign a written declaration that he will observe them; he is also obliged to deposit all funds in his possession into the keeping of the patron, and to declare that he will continue to do so as he receives others, so as to place them entirely under the patron's control.

The course of instruction embraces Hebrew, Greek, and Latin; with the literature as well as

languages of each. Among the modern tongues, French, Spanish, Italian, German, Danish, Swedish, Dutch, and Portuguese, are all taught. Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, and *Materia Medica*, Anatomy and Surgery, Moral Philosophy, and Law, are all taught by separate professors, of which there are nine, besides tutors or assistants.

The University has the power to grant degrees of Master of Arts, and Doctor of Medicine. The entire expense of education, board, and subsistence, for the year of ten months, during which the University is in session, varies between 200 and 250 dollars, or from 40*l.* to 50*l.* sterling. Music, fencing, and dancing, are taught by separate masters, to those who desire it. A military corps has been formed of the students, and an officer appointed to instruct them in military exercises and tactics, to which one day in each week is devoted. But the same complaint is made here, that is made at almost all the public seminaries of education in America, of the disorderly conduct of the students, and the difficulty of keeping them under any rigid system of discipline. I had begun to think this a blot on the American character, which did not exist to the same extent in England, until I was corrected in my opinion by reading, in this very town of Charlottesville, from a batch of English newspapers which had been forwarded to me at the White Sulphur Springs, but which I had only been enabled to get through by degrees, the following paragraph from the *London Examiner*, of May 26, 1839—

“CAMBRIDGE ‘GENTLEMEN AND SCHOLARS.’—On Tuesday, Mr. Sidney Smith appeared at the theatre in Cambridge, in order



to give his second lecture on the impolicy and injustice of the corn laws. On the opening of the doors, the pit and part of the boxes were speedily occupied by mechanics and many respectable citizens. The upper boxes and gallery were soon also filled by the townspeople. About 150 of the gownsmen came in a body, and took possession of all the boxes on the lecturer's right hand, where they began to laugh and talk loud. A townsman remarked to Mr. Smith that he saw all the leading bullies of the University there, and that there would be a regular row. Mr. Smith, however, attempted to commence his lecture, when he was assailed with hootings by the gownsmen, some of whom were also provided with French horns. The tumult increased, the gownsmen giving three cheers for the corn-laws: while, to the cries of the people, 'Put them out,' &c. they answered 'Damn your eyes. Three cheers for Sir Robert Peel; huzza! huzza!' Here the gownsmen exhibited their bludgeons, and put themselves in attitude for a battle. The townsmen rose from the pit, climbed into the boxes amidst the most fearful blows, and a regular battle was the result. Hats, gowns, surtouts, and coats, flew in all directions. Chairs were torn to pieces, and all sorts of benches and planks were in requisition for weapons. The long passage of the boxes was the scene of fearful violence. Men were fainting; others going out with dreadful gashes on their heads, and severe contusions on the arms and legs. The mayor appeared, and implored Mr. Smith to retire, telling him that still further reinforcements of gownsmen would be forthcoming; but he insisted on maintaining his ground, and leaving the 'miscreants' to answer for the consequences of interrupting them in a free discussion. Meanwhile the click of a hundred sticks could be heard, as they mingled in the *melée*, and the shouts, yells, and cheers were quite stunning. The gownsmen were at last fairly kicked and beaten out of the house, when the townsmen resumed their seats amid tremendous cheers, displaying torn gowns, fragments of caps, and tails of coats, as trophies of their victory."

After this, I think, the young Southern students at Northern Universities who attack Abolition lecturers, as was recently done at Newhaven by the assault on

Mr. Gerritt Smith, may strengthen themselves by the example of the "higher classes," in the mother-country. The principle on which the conduct of both is founded is precisely the same, namely, opposition to all changes which they think will affect their pecuniary interests ; for the abolition of Slavery in America, like the abolition of the Corn-laws in England, however much it might benefit the many, for all time to come, would lessen the gains of a few for a short period ; and therefore the Southern planters of America will continue to hold fast their slaves so long as they can derive an income from their labour ; and the young expectant heirs of land-owners in England will continue to uphold the Corn-laws, so long as by that monopoly of the staff of life, their high rentals shall be maintained. The one robs the slave of his labour, without giving him his due reward ; the other takes from the artisan a portion of the full value of his toil, by compelling him to pay an unduly high price for his subsistence. The injustice is in each case equally great ; since in both, the burdens fall on the labourers, who produce the very wealth by which those who make the laws are maintained.\*

\* This passage was written in Charlottesville, in August, 1839, long before the agitation of the question of the Corn-laws in England. Subsequent events have only confirmed the accuracy of the view here taken ; and when the two great leaders of the ministerial and opposition party in the British House of Commons shall again quote my writings as an authority for their respective views, as was done by Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel, in the late debate on the Corn-laws, this passage may be recommended to the special attention of both, or to any other honourable member who may be disposed to quote it.

Charlottesville, as a town, has nothing of peculiar interest, beyond its beautiful situation, its fine landscape views, the vicinity of Monticello, and the University of Virginia. It has a population of 1,000 persons, of whom about 400 are slaves, and 100 free blacks. Among the public buildings, erected chiefly of brick, of the deepest red colour, are a Court House ; four Churches—Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Episcopalian ; a Female Academy ; and a preparatory school for boys destined for the University. The inhabitants are chiefly engaged in agricultural pursuits ; and an Agricultural Society, well supported by the surrounding country, holds its periodical meetings in the town. It has also an annual exhibition of live-stock and domestic manufactures, at which premiums are awarded for the best productions in each. The elevation of the town is ascertained to be 700 feet above the level of the sea.

We had to be roused at the early hour of three o'clock in the morning, for the stage, which did not leave Charlottesville, however, until four ; and it was seven o'clock before we had performed a distance of eight miles to the first station, where we breakfasted. About five miles beyond this we passed the house and farm of Mr. W. C. Rives, the Virginia senator. Nothing could be more slovenly than the state of the husbandry all along this road, and the neglected state of the farms gave evidence of great inferiority in their mode of management. We had with us in the coach, a senator from Pennsylvania, who expatiated on the contrast presented by the appearance of the farms in his State ; and I ventured to ask him what he considered to be the cause of so

remarkable a difference in two districts or countries so nearly adjoining, with so great an equality of advantages in soil and climate. He replied, "There is no other intelligible cause for this difference, than that Pennsylvania is cultivated by freemen, and Virginia by slaves: the freemen have every motive to labour, because they enrich themselves by their toil, and enjoy what they produce; the slaves have every motive to be idle, because no toil enriches them, and nothing beyond bare subsistence ever rewards their exertions; therefore, the freemen do as much as possible, and the slaves do as little." He further expressed his belief, that there was many a farmer owning 500 acres in Pennsylvania, without a single slave, who was rich; while there were many planters in Virginia who were poor with 5,000 acres, and as many slaves as were requisite to cultivate the whole; because the farmer of Pennsylvania, with such an estate, would lay by money every year, while the planter of Virginia, with so much ampler means, would get every year deeper and deeper into debt! Such is the difference in the results of freedom and slavery, according to the sober judgment of a native of the country. When I asked him, whether the Virginia planters were themselves aware of this difference, he replied. "The greater number of them undoubtedly are; but a spirit of false pride prevents them from acting on it." Many years ago, the Legislature of Virginia entertained the proposition of emancipating the slaves; and the public opinion of the majority of the State was in favour of such a step. Every one here, indeed, believes that

if nothing had occurred to interrupt the progress of this sentiment, the abolition of slavery, in this, and the adjoining State of Maryland, would have happened long ago. But they allege, that because the Abolitionists of the North wished to force them on faster than they chose to go, they would not move at all; and since these Abolitionists have increased their pressure, the slave holders have actually receded backward, out of a sheer spirit of opposition, because they would not be driven even into the adoption of a measure which they approved. They seem, therefore, to be now in the position of a froward child, who takes delight in doing just the contrary of what he is desired to do—show his independence; for the planters of these two States say, in effect, by their conduct, “We believe slavery to be an evil to ourselves and to our slaves, and that under a system of free-labour we should both be much better off. In this conviction, we were beginning to prepare measures to effect the change from the one to the other; and should have done so by this time, if no one had attempted to hurry us. But, though the abolition of slavery would be an acknowledged and undoubted good to ourselves, we will not adopt it, merely because other persons tell us we ought to do so; and therefore we will not only defer the matter altogether, but we will wholly forego the benefit we were about to confer upon ourselves, rather than permit even the appearance of our being dictated to by others!” This is not an unusual course for a froward and spoiled child, or for a wayward and capricious tyrant; but whether it is a course becom-

ing a grave and free community, pretending to be among the most enlightened people of the world, let the reader judge.

Beyond Mr. Rives's house we passed a large brick cotton factory, like some of the best of those in Lancashire or Yorkshire, but brighter and cleaner, being worked by water-power instead of steam. In this, both spinning and weaving are carried on; and whites and blacks work indiscriminately together. Near this spot Mr. Jefferson was born; and close by it, the remains of his father and mother are buried. It is remarkable enough, that this large factory should occupy the birth-place of the man, one of whose strongest recommendations to his countrymen was, not to make their country a manufacturing, but to keep it always as an agricultural nation, for which Nature seems to have best fitted it, and by which he thought its happiness and independence would be best preserved.

Along our road we saw some beautiful trees of the white sumach, and many of the persimon. In the fields there were water-melons in great abundance, and peaches loaded the trees overhanging the way-side. On the skirts of the road we saw great quantities of the plant called the James-Town weed, now in flower. It was first noticed at the old English settlement of James Town, on the James river; and was regarded as a great medicinal plant, by the aboriginal Indians. One of our fellow-passengers related to us many extraordinary cures which had been performed by its use, in application to external wounds, and by decoctions of its leaves for internal use. Mr. Jefferson states, that the late Dr. Bond had assured him of this remarkable effect produced by it. A young

girl put some of the seeds of this plant into her eye, when it dilated the pupil to such a degree, that she could see in the dark, but in the light she was almost blind. He further added, that a ship's crew arriving at James Town, having eaten of the leaves of this plant, they were all affected with a temporary imbecility, from which they slowly recovered.

As we proceeded on our way, we came to lower and lower levels, and more and more inferior lands; though, in one of the fields that we passed, we saw cotton, corn, and tobacco, in small patches of each, all growing within the limits of a few acres. After a journey of twenty-six miles by the mail-stage, which we did not accomplish till twelve o'clock, having been, therefore, eight hours performing this distance, we reached the first railroad on which we had travelled for some time. The change to this mode of conveyance was very agreeable, though its rate of speed did not exceed fifteen miles an hour when in motion, and was reduced to twelve by the frequent stoppages for fire-wood, water, and passengers; besides being rendered disagreeable by the frequent entry into the car of the flying sparks of wood, burning the faces of some, entering the eyes of others, and making small holes in the garments of all. We were glad, therefore, when we reached Richmond, and halted for the night.











## CHAP. XIX.

Stay at Richmond—Description of the City—Revenue—Taxation—Public Buildings—Library of the Capitol—City Hall—Armory—Penitentiary—Orphan Asylum—Academy—Periodicals—Churches—Government—Canal—Mines—Manufactures—Shipping—Commerce—Population—Slaves on Sundays—Anecdote of a Negro who desired Education—Conduct of Abolitionists—Abolitionists—Benefits of agitation.

RICHMOND, though not one of the oldest towns in Virginia, is of British or Colonial origin, having been first established by an act of the Colonial Assembly in 1742; so that it is now nearly a century old. It did not become the seat of government, however, till after the Declaration of American Independence, when the system of fixing on some central point in the State for the place of legislation, was first acted on. It was then, in 1779, that Richmond was appointed to be the site of the Capitol.

The situation of the town is peculiarly striking and beautiful; and from almost every point of view it forms a magnificent picture. The three finest views, perhaps, are from the river's bank above the Falls; from the library windows in the upper story of the State House, or Capitol; and from Gamble's Hall, where the panorama is most extensive. The town stands on the north bank of James river, at a

distance of 130 miles from the entrance to the Chesapeake at the Capes of Virginia; 116 from Norfolk; 74 from the old site of James Town; and 12 from City Point, the head of the navigation for large ships—the river admitting only small vessels above that limit, where they find a port of entry within a mile of Richmond, at a small village called Rocketts.

The city itself is built on the ascending slope of the northern bank, opposite to a cluster of rocks and verdant islets in the middle of the stream, called The Falls of the James River. The Rapids would, however, be a better term, for though the navigation is entirely interrupted at this point by the shallowness of the water and the innumerable ledges and masses of rock breaking the even surface of the stream—there are no cataracts or falls more than a few inches in any one spot—though the aggregate descent in the course of a mile, is sufficient to furnish water-power for many mills and factories now in use, and continually increasing.

On the opposite or southern bank of the James river is a small town called Manchester, and this is connected with Richmond by a bridge, over which runs the railroad between Richmond and Petersburg.

Though the town of Richmond has one general ascent upward from the river's-bank on the north, it has within its area several small hills and valleys, running at right angles with the stream, and consequently giving great inequalities to the surface, which, however inconvenient to pedestrians in their perambulations of the streets, adds greatly to the

variety and beauty of the picture, throwing out the most prominent buildings in bold relief, elevating the spires of the churches, and domes of the Academy and Court House, and, above all, exhibiting the noble form and proportions of the Capitol, which, like the Temple of the Parthenon on the Acropolis at Athens, stands proudly elevated on the brow of the hill, to the greatest advantage. The picture drawn of the whole by the pen of the author of "The British Spy," is therefore as correct as it is eloquent, and will bear the test of criticism on the spot:—

"I never met (says that writer) with such an assemblage of striking and interesting objects as here. The town dispersed over hills of various shapes; the river descending from west to east, and obstructed by a multitude of small islands, clumps of trees, and myriads of rocks, among which it tumbles, foams, and roars, constituting what is called The Falls;—the same river at the lower end of the town bending at right angles to the south, and winding reluctantly off for many miles in that direction, its polished surface caught here and there by the eye, but more generally covered from the view by the trees, among which the white sails of approaching and departing vessels exhibit a curious and interesting appearance;—then again, on the opposite side, the little town of Manchester, built on a hill, which, sloping gently to the river, opens the whole town to the view, interspersed as it is with vigorous and flourishing poplars, and surrounded to a great distance by green plains and stately woods;—all these objects falling at once under the eye, constitute by far the most finely varied and most animated landscape that I have ever seen."

The plan of the city, like that of most in America, is remarkably regular. The principal streets run parallel to the river along the side of the hill, partaking of its smaller elevations and depressions;

and these are called by the letters, of the alphabet, from A to Z in succession, though some of them have distinctive names in addition ;—such as Main-street, the great public place of business, like the Broadway of New York ; Carey-street, the chief mart of the tobacco merchants ; and Broad-street, which has the entry of the railroad from the north. The lateral streets, running up from the river to the top of the hill, cross these longitudinal streets at right angles, dividing the whole area into a certain number of squares. The lateral streets are named numerically, as, First-street, Second-street, and so on. If a street is called by the name of a letter in the alphabet, then it is certain that it runs parallel to the river, and by the letter of its name you can guess pretty accurately how near to or how remote from the stream it is ; and so of the numerical streets, which, to a stranger, is a great assistance. They are nearly all broad and airy ; but they are wretchedly paved, imperfectly drained, and never lighted, as I believe there is not a single street-lamp in the city. They are therefore the most dirty, rough, and disagreeable streets to walk in, that are to be found, perhaps, in the Union ; presenting a continual obstacle to walking or visiting, as they are filled with dirt and dust all through the dry weather, and dirt and mud all the wet. Of all the reforms needed for Richmond, I should say that “Street Reform” was the most urgent and pressing.

I understood that the chief difficulty in remedying this evil, was the already heavy debt of the city, which amounted to more than 700,000 dollars. This alone requires a city revenue of 40,000 dollars

annually, to pay the interest. Besides this, there are the following items of expenditure to be defrayed by the city—

For the support of the Poor - - - -	5,000	dollars
For the Free School and Orphan Asylum	2,000	„
For the support of a Night-Watch - -	9,000	„
For repairing the Streets - - - -	4,000	„
Markets, Fire Companies, & Contingencies	5,000	„
Salaries of Public Officers - - - -	20,000	„
	<hr/>	
	45,000	„

So that the whole expenditure is little short of 100,000 dollars a year. This is raised by a tax assessed on the real property of persons living within the city, which, in 1833, was valued at nearly 7,000,000 dollars, and is now thought to be worth 10,000,000 dollars. Besides this most legitimate of all sources of taxation, there is one which falls much more unequally; namely, a license tax, all trades and professions here being required to take out a license, for which they have to pay a certain sum to the city funds. By the returns of the State Commissioner for 1833, it appears there were 20 wholesale merchants in Richmond paying for licenses, 326 retail traders, 7 lottery-ticket sellers, 43 hotel-keepers, and 9 boarding-house keepers, 157 coaches, 54 gigs, and 739 horses and mules, all contributing to the city revenue.

One large item of the city debt was for the construction of the Water-works, commenced in 1830, under the direction of Mr. Albert Steen, a celebrated Dutch engineer, the cost of which has been 100,000 dollars and more. There are several reservoirs, each



capable of containing 1,000,000 of gallons ; and into these, the pumps force from the river, to a distance of 800 yards, and at a considerable elevation, 400,000 gallons of water in 24 hours. Fire-plugs are placed in the principal streets, fed by pipes leading from these reservoirs, and these have force enough to send the water, by a hose, to the tops of the buildings, without the use of engines, so that it is an invaluable aid in case of fire. Houses are also supplied with water for domestic purposes from the same source, at a very moderate expense.

Of the public buildings, the most imposing, and in every respect the most beautiful, is the State House, or Capitol. Nothing can be more advantageous than its position, in the middle of a fine lawn, on the brow of the hill that overtops the town. Its foundation is much higher than the tops of the houses in the streets below, thus commanding a fine elevation, and ample surrounding space, to show its form and proportions to the best advantage. It is said to be formed after the celebrated *Maison Carré*, at Nismes, a plan and model of which was brought from France by Mr. Jefferson ; but there are quite as many points of difference as of resemblance between them. It is an oblong building, of about 150 feet by 70, judging by the eye, and from 70 to 80 feet in height. Its principal front is towards the river, from which it is distant a third of a mile, overlooking the town. This front has a fine Ionic portico, rising from a platform on a level with the second story, but without an ascending flight of steps, these being supplied by heavy masses of stairs on each side, to the great injury of the edifice, the

chasteness and simplicity of which, when you are near to the building, they quite destroy. They might have been placed at either end, where they would have given beauty and dignity to the structure ; but standing where they are, they seem to be an excrescence, as if the architect had forgotten to provide for an entrance into his building at the proper place, and threw up these cumbrous additions, to supply the omission afterwards. The sides have Ionic pilasters to correspond with the portico, and the general effect of the whole is chaste and noble, whenever you are at a sufficient distance to lose sight of the deformity of the side steps, which ought to be removed.

The interior of the Capitol is not arranged to the best advantage, either for convenience or beauty. The ground-floor is occupied by various offices. On the first story above this, is a central hall or lobby, in the middle of which is a full-length statue of General Washington, executed in marble, by a French artist, named Houdon, taken while the General was alive, and said to be the most striking resemblance ever made of the great original. As this was his native State, it is improbable that this reputation for strict resemblance should be enjoyed by this statue, unless it were true, as there are still so many Virginians living to whom Washington was familiarly known. But it is certainly not like the other representations of Washington in countenance, and differs much from the celebrated picture of Mr. Stuart, which has formed the model for many thousand copies in every size, and of every price, from the excellence of the original as a picture. On this floor is the House of Delegates, as the representa-

tives are here called, and a room occupied by the judges of the Supreme Court. The Senate Chamber is on the floor above, and the Library occupies the upper story. In all these rooms there is nothing remarkable, but each is well adapted to its purpose ; and the Library, which is well arranged, and has a good collection of 10,000 volumes, is a very agreeable apartment, from its light, air, and fine prospects. In the Hall below is a bust of General Lafayette, when a young man, on his first campaign with Washington. The leading traits of his features were then the same as they appeared in his old age ; and any one to whom his countenance was familiar at sixty-five, might know him by his bust at twenty-five. Lafayette is everywhere associated with Washington in America ; and two purer or better men were, perhaps, never united in fame than these. If the examples of their lives, public and private, could but be made to have an influence on the conduct of the American people, in proportion to the degree of estimation in which they profess to hold their names, it would be well for this country and for mankind ; but that, I fear, is too much to hope for.

Near the Capitol, is the official residence of the Governor, during the session of the Legislature ; it is a substantial brick mansion. Behind it is the City Hall, used for the sittings of the Law Courts, as well as for municipal purposes, with a chaste Doric portico, and circular flattened dome. A large Armory belonging to the State was built on the lower part of the town, and the edifice still exists ; but it was found that the manufactory of arms here was more expensive than the purchase of them else-

where ; and it has, accordingly, been abandoned, and converted into a barrack ; being now occupied by a small number of troops.

The State Penitentiary occupies a rising ground on the west of the city, and is built and conducted on the Auburn plan, under what is called the Silent System, in contradistinction to the Philadelphia plan, which is called the Solitary System. Here the convicts all work in company, but are forbidden to speak or communicate with each other, even by signs ; a prohibition, however, which they constantly evade ; and the effect of their association is, in the opinion of most persons here, to make them worse. The system, however, is still continued, chiefly because the workmen, by their labours, pay the cost of their own subsistence, and leave a profit for the State, and this is more thought of than their reformation. There are about 200 convicts in it, one half being free blacks, and a large portion of the other half, foreigners : there are rarely or ever any white females in this prison, though they are frequently found in those of the North.

Of charitable institutions there is a Poor-house, and a Female Orphan Asylum, partly supported by private liberality, partly by municipal taxes, and partly by the funds of the State ; and there is a small Lancasterian School, for the education of children of both sexes. One good academy now exists in Richmond, and a few small private schools. But in this respect it is singularly deficient ; and though the population is estimated at 30,000, there is no literary or scientific association, such as is to be found in nearly all the smaller towns of the Northern States.

Of literary and political publications, there are two daily papers, the *Whig*, and the *Compiler*; one tri-weekly, the *Enquirer*, published and edited by Mr. Ritchie, the oldest editor of any paper in the Union, having conducted the same journal on democratic principles for the long period of forty years! and being yet full of vigour and energy, and looked up to as a veteran of the greatest influence and authority, by the whole of the Democratic party throughout the country. There are also three religious weekly papers, *Episcopalian*, *Baptist*, and *Presbyterian*, published in Richmond. Its monthly periodical, *The Southern Literary Messenger*, contains as many well-written articles as any similar publication in England; and in my judgment, after a regular perusal of it for two years—as I subscribed to all the leading reviews and magazines during my stay in the country, or procured them, as published, through the booksellers—it is at least equal to any periodical, Northern or Southern, published in the United States.

There are sixteen churches in Richmond, of which the *Episcopalians* have three, the *Methodists* three, the *Baptists* three, the *Presbyterians* two, the *Roman Catholics*, the *Unitarians*, the *Quakers*, the *Campbellites*, and the *Jews*, one each. One of the *Episcopalian* places of worship is called *The Monumental Church*, from this circumstance:—On the spot which it now occupies, formerly stood the theatre of Richmond, at which, on the benefit of some favourite actor, the house was crowded with all the first families of the city, the Governor of the State being among the number. In the course of the perform-

ances, some of the scenery took fire, and the flames spread with great rapidity. The alarm was soon changed to terror, and, unfortunately, there was but one avenue of egress—a fault which almost all large public places of resort and entertainment still retain—and from the rush to it from all parts of the house, this broke down, so that the passage became choked up by the dead and the dying, and for those who remained behind there was no possibility of escape. Accordingly, from seventy to eighty of the most respectable inhabitants of the city, of both sexes, perished in the flames ! One can easily conceive the horror which this catastrophe must have created, and the gloom which for years it continued to cast over the whole community, from whence some of the most excellent and most lovely had been swept away by the fiery element, in the midst of their pleasures. It was at length determined to build a church upon the spot, which has been accomplished ; and in it I attended worship, and heard a very impressive sermon from the young Episcopalian clergyman who officiated—the venerable Bishop Moore, now in his 80th year, who usually preaches here, being now absent on a visit to the churches in New York.

The church is octagonal in form ; and under a dark and heavy portico, or rather arcade, in front, is a square monument, surmounted by a funeral urn, on the four sides of which are inscribed the names of the principal persons who perished in the conflagration of the theatre ; the names of the males on two of its sides, and that of the females on the others ; but with no narrative or record of the occasion of their death, or the time and manner of its occurrence ;

so that a stranger, examining it without a friend or guide, would be wholly at a loss to know why so many names were there. This is an omission which ought surely to be remedied, and every year that passes by will render it more and more necessary. I was struck with observing some few names inscribed outside the general record, lower down, and near the very foot of the monument, which I took at first for the names of the sculptor, designer, and architect. But on examining them, I found they were female names; I asked why they were thus excluded from association with the rest, and the answer given me was—"Oh! they were coloured people," and this was deemed sufficient. I learnt afterwards that they were all favourite and faithful slaves, who had attended their mistresses to the theatre, and that, therefore, their names were inscribed, but in this lower compartment, away from all connection with those above. I could not help asking those who told me this, whether, if they entered the same heaven, the distinctions would still be preserved hereafter; but the parties were silent, and made no reply.

In the general aspect of Richmond, as you walk through its streets, there is nothing very striking. The private dwellings of the more opulent are chiefly on the hill, where the air is cooler and fresher, and the tranquillity greater, than below. The houses are chiefly of brick, well built, handsomely furnished, and many of them with good gardens. In one of these, belonging to the chief proprietor of the White Sulphur Faquier Springs, the garden was well laid out in the Italian style, with several fine statues of the Seasons, and one of Venus rising from the

Sea, with fountains, dolphins, &c., executed in Florence, and brought out here for this express purpose. The house, with its noble portico, spacious veranda, elegant furniture, and beautiful pictures, marked a union of good taste with opulence, not very usual, except in the establishments of those who have travelled in Europe, and there acquired a good taste, by an examination of the finest models. The shops have none of the show and beauty of those in the Broadway of Boston, or Chesnut-street in Philadelphia, though the stores are substantial, and appeared to be all well supplied.

The government of the city is formed of a council of twenty-seven, who are elected annually by the inhabitants, nine from each of the three wards into which the city is divided. These again elect out of their own body, a recorder, and eleven aldermen, who form the judiciary of the city. The council also elect from the citizens at large, a mayor, who is both a judicial and an executive officer; and the remaining fifteen of the twenty-seven constitute the legislative council, by whom all acts for the city government are made.

Richmond is already, to some extent, a manufacturing city; but seems destined to become much more so, from her possession of all the necessary elements. The water-power of her Falls is almost inexhaustible, and lies along a great extent of both banks of the stream just above the city. Within a few miles of this are immense beds of coal, on which several mines are actively at work. Already there are many large flour-mills, which collectively



grind about 1,000,000 of bushels of wheat annually ; and the brand of the Gallego Mills, on the barrels of flour exported from hence, is esteemed above every other in the South American markets. A Richmond Cotton Manufacturing Company has been established and incorporated by the legislature, which consumes 2,000 lbs. of raw cotton per day, and employs 100 whites and 150 blacks as spinners and weavers. A second, or rival body, called The Gallego Manufacturing Company, has recently started ; and private factories are springing up all around ; machinery and workmen being procured from England.

The James River Canal, which runs along beside the natural stream from above the Falls, and terminates in a spacious basin in the town, preserves an uninterrupted navigation with the interior. The tolls on this amount to about 70,000 dollars annually, and are yearly increasing.

The shipping actually belonging to Richmond is not of great amount, but the number clearing out from the port on foreign voyages is 5,000 tons. The commerce consists chiefly in the exportation of tobacco and flour, both to foreign ports and coastwise ; and the aggregate of these is said to amount to nearly 8,000,000 dollars annually.

The population, in 1830, the last census taken, was 16,060 ; of whom the whites were 7,755, the slaves 6,349, and the free-coloured persons 1,965 ; making the united black population rather more than the white. The increase since that period, is thought by some to have made the whole population 20,000 ; and including the opposite town of Man-

chester, 30,000 at least. In walking the streets, however, you appear to see and meet ten times as many blacks as whites.

On Sundays, when the slaves and servants are all at liberty after dinner, they move about in every public thoroughfare, and are generally more gaily dressed than the whites. The females wear white muslin and light silk gowns, with caps, bonnets, ribbons, and feathers; some carry reticules on the arm, and many are seen with parasols, while nearly all of them carry a white pocket-handkerchief before them in the most fashionable style. The young men, among the slaves, wear white trousers, black stocks, broad-brimmed hats, and carry walking-sticks; and from the bowing, curtesying, and greetings, in the highway, one might almost imagine one's self to be at Hayti, and think that the coloured people had got possession of the town, and held sway, while the whites were living among them by sufferance. This is only the Sunday-aspect, however, but to me it was a very agreeable sight while it lasted; the negroes, of both sexes, seemed so happy in the enjoyment of their holiday and finery, that I wished from my heart I could secure them two Sundays a week instead of one, or, still better, have them thus happy all the week through. On working days, however, the case is altered, for then they return back to their labour and dirty clothes again; though it must be confessed, that in no part of the country, in the towns, do the slaves appear to be overworked, or to do, indeed, so much as a white labourer would be expected, and indeed made to do, in the same situation of life. The truth is, that while they are naturally indolent

under their bondage—for who would work hard when another is to reap the reward?—their masters or owners are indolent too ; and it takes so much time and trouble for a white man to be constantly overlooking and tasking a negro, to keep him to his work, that he soon gives it up. The slaves in towns, therefore, and especially domestic servants, do just as little as they like, and their masters and mistresses will not take the trouble to make them do more ; so that they live an easier life than many an English mechanic, farm-labourer, or servant, as far as actual labour is concerned. In the plantations under overseers, where a stricter discipline can be kept up, it is no doubt different ; but in general, you see no stripes inflicted, or blows struck, or even harsh language used to the slaves in towns, by any one ; nor does their own sense of their condition seem to be generally one of pain, or a strong desire to change it, though occasionally they run away, and perhaps would do so oftener were it not for the great risk of detection, and certainty of having punishment afterwards. Still, I believe, the only chance of their general improvement is to be found in their freedom. With that, they *may* ameliorate their condition, improve their minds, and become a more intellectual and moral race ; without that, as a first step, it seems to me impossible.

I had forgotten to mention an anecdote on this subject, which occurred at Monticello, but which, like a hundred other things that I see and hear, was not recorded at the time, because no degree of labour would be sufficient to preserve, in writing, the half of what passes around one every day, though it would

be useful if it could be noted down for future reference, if not for publication ; but I will mention it now. We had reached the summit of the hill at Monticello on foot, when a family coming after us from Charlottesville, arrived in a carriage. One of our party, when the persons in the carriage had got out, addressed the driver, a negro slave, and said, "Pompey, what is the name of that hill there away in the distance ?" The man replied, "I don't know, Sir." The gentleman rejoined, "But you ought to know ; you who are a driver, and bring parties up here. Why don't you learn the names of all the places, so as to be able to tell them to your company ?" "I should be very glad," replied the negro, "if I could learn 'em ; but master knows it's more than I *dare* do, to learn anything, 'cause it's 'gainst the law." The gentleman was silent ; for he had the sense to see to what this would lead, if followed up. I continued the conversation, however, by asking the negro, who was what is called here "a right smart fellow," and spoke as good English as any driver in London, having been born in Charlottesville, and always lived with a white master, whether he really had any desire to learn to read and write ; and whether it was true that he was deterred from doing so because the law prohibited it ? He said there was nothing he desired more ; that he would give half his earnings, if he could, to accomplish this object. He was hired out by his master as a driver, and had to carry home to him a good portion of his earnings, and live upon the rest ; but he declared he would give a part of that rest, to learn to read and write, if he could ; for though some masters allowed

their slaves sometimes to do this, it was not publicly permitted, and *his* master was not willing, because it was against the law.

There is great fear, it would seem, among the whites, that if the negroes were educated, they would turn their knowledge to good account, in corresponding, organizing plans of rebellion, forging passports for each other, and so on. Their owners have no objection to their becoming religious, as they think that safe; but they are afraid of their becoming intelligent! This fact alone is a volume against slavery, and must seal its condemnation as an unjust thing, in the mind of every man who regards the negro as a portion of the human race.

Notwithstanding this, it cannot be denied, that everywhere in the South there are abundant evidences of a retrograde movement in the state of public opinion, as to the desirableness and practicability of emancipation. Whenever the subject is talked of, the conversation is almost always sure to wind up with the assertion, that, but for the Abolitionists of the North, something would, by this time, have been accomplished; but that, by reason of their intemperate zeal, the accomplishment of negro freedom has been thrown back for an indefinite period. The people of the South use this as the strongest ground of their objection to abolition movements; though the true reason of their hostility, no doubt, is, an unwillingness to part with what is to them productive property, and to some, indeed, their whole fortune, especially in Virginia, where the slaves being more numerous than they can find occupation for on their own plantations, they train them as artificers of

various kinds, and hire them out to others for wages, a small portion of which subsists the slave, and the rest is gain to his master or mistress ; for widows and maiden-ladies owning slaves, let them out in this way for gain. The rising progeny of these slaves are regarded as so much stock, to be fed, raised, and prepared for a market, to which they are all sent in due time, so that the surplus number is a constant source of addition to the regular gains from their labour. Still the very persons who do this, and live wholly by the income so obtained, profess to be very desirous of seeing something done, towards a safe plan of gradual emancipation, and say that, but for the hasty and intemperate zeal of the Abolitionists, this would have been done long ago.

In these sentiments they are continually fortified by the testimonies of eminent men in the North ; and when any of these, either in speeches or letters, give utterance to such testimony, it is, of course, eagerly caught up, and recited in every paper of the South, as strengthening the cause of the Slaveholder by weakening that of the Abolitionist.

Some might imagine that additional cruelties were practised on the negroes in consequence of the efforts of the Abolitionists, or that increase of suffering, and loss of life were produced by it. So far, however, is this from being true, that there never was a period in the history of America, when the negroes were treated with so much of kindness and consideration as at present. Floggings, which were once to frequent, are now certainly very rare ; and neither subordinate punishments, harsh language, or heavy labour, are inflicted on the slaves to half the extent

that they were before the Abolition movements began. This change, I believe to have been brought about by the influence of public opinion. It is now necessary that the slaveholders of the South should be able to repel the charges of cruel treatment, by more kindness than ever to their slaves; to lessen the inducements to absconding, by making their labour lighter; and to prevent the disgust and indignation of Northern visitors, by being more liberal in their supplies of food and clothing, and less frequent in the use of the whip. All this is the result of the Abolition agitation; and though it may perhaps have suspended or retained all legislative measures for the emancipation of the slaves for some years, it has made it more certain that this emancipation *will* be effected, and that the progress towards it will be smoothened, if not hastened, by the gradually milder treatment of the negroes, so as to make them better able to bear the transition, and prevent the intoxication of a more violent oscillation from one extreme to another.

I feel persuaded, that the awakening the public mind to the danger that awaits the much longer continuance of slavery, is the only method of averting the catastrophe, in which, without some steps taken to avoid it, the question would make an issue for itself, by a general and successful insurrection. It is known, that the slaves increase at the rate of nearly 80,000 in each year; and that with all the pains taken to prevent their being instructed, they are nevertheless becoming more and more informed, by constant residence with the whites, and by what they hear and see around them. The example of

Hayti, with a free government of blacks, is before them ;—the emancipation of all slaves in Mexico, is known to them ;—the example of England in the West India Islands, is fresh and recent ;—and the exertions making for their abolition in their own Northern States, are, of course, familiar to them all. It is impossible but that all this must every year increase the general *desire* to be free ; and equally increase their physical and mental power, by augmented numbers, and improved information, to make themselves so. Should it ever come to that, the struggle would be dreadful, for it would be one of life or death to both parties ; and neither would be willing to lay down their arms, till the other were exterminated. To avert this calamity, to which things are naturally tending every year, the humane, the patriotic, and the pious, ought to redouble their energies in favour of speedy emancipation, and the cause of “peace on earth and good will towards men,” will be ultimately promoted by their success.



## CHAP. XX.

Journey to Petersburg—Origin of the name—Public buildings—Manufactures—Commerce—Servants' livery—Variable weather—Journey—Voyage down the James river—Old English mansion Williamsburgh—College of William and Mary—Raleigh's Tavern—Ruins of James Town—The first English settlement—Storm on the river—Rivality between different States—Daniel Webster—Henry Clay—Queen of the West—Tarring and feathering—Persecution of the Mormons—Lynching in a Court-house—Arrears and fees of Court—Aristocratical distinctions—Arrival at Norfolk.

HAVING a great desire to revisit Norfolk—the only part of the United States that I had ever visited before my present tour, and this so long as thirty years ago—I availed myself of the present opportunity, though the weather was oppressively hot for such an excursion, the thermometer being from 90° to 98° daily. We accordingly left Richmond on the 26th of August, for Petersburg, by the railroad, which carried us the twenty-two miles of distance over a level and uninteresting country in an hour and a half; and here we remained for a few days, previous to our embarking on the James river for Norfolk.

I had supposed, from the name of this place, that it was of comparatively recent origin, at least, posterior to the revolution, as I could hardly think that a town of British origin would have been called after the name of one of the European capitals,

and particularly that of Russia. I learnt, however, from one of the oldest residents, that it was even older than Richmond; but its original name was Petersburg, from the circumstance of the first man setting himself down here to settle, and keeping a house of entertainment, being called Peters, a very frequent origin for the names of towns in America. When it rose to be a tolerably large place, subsequent to the revolution, its name was changed to Petersburg, from its being thought more important than its old appellation.

It is seated on the southern bank of the river Appotomax, which is navigable for small vessels from hence to the James-river, close by City Point, where large vessels come up from the sea to load their cargoes. As at Richmond, there are certain rapids or falls above the town on the Appotomax, the waters of which are used for manufacturing-power. A canal runs along, side by side with the river, so as to connect the navigation above and below the Falls. The town was originally built of wood; but in 1815 a great fire burnt nearly the whole of it down. Since then, the buildings have been constructed of brick, but, though sufficiently substantial, there is a heaviness and gloom about them, very different from the lightness and brightness which characterize American cities in general. The town is regular in its plan, and has several public buildings in it, including a City Hall, a Masonic Hall, and a Female Orphan Asylum, seven Churches, belonging to Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians; and the Anderson Seminary, established as a Lancasterian School, by a legacy from a Mr. David Anderson.

It has but one newspaper, published three times a week, the Petersburg Intelligencer, of Whig politics, though the population is about 10,000 ; a smaller proportion of newspaper force, if I may use such a term, than towns of such an extent usually exhibit.

Manufactures and commerce are here the chief pursuits, and each is said to be augmenting every year. There are eight tobacco factories, seven flour-mills, two mills for expressing oil from the cotton-seed, two potteries for earthenware, and one cast-iron and brass foundry in the town.\* The cotton factories are, however, more important still, and are every year increasing. There are two Manufacturing Companies, the Petersburg and the Merchants'. One of these produces yarn, and the other weaves cotton-cloth to a considerable extent ; both employing about 500 operatives, a large portion of whom are women and young girls. The exports from hence embrace about 50,000 bales of cotton, this being the northern limit of the cotton-growing region, 5,000 hogs-heads of tobacco, and 100,000 bushels of wheat in each year.

Petersburgh, like Richmond, has its streets in a wretched condition, from want of cleansing and repair, and there are no lamps of any kind, gas or oil, used in them ; so that the going out at night is inconvenient, and even dangerous, to a stranger unacquainted with the localities, unless the moon should be up to light him on his way. As a contrast to this state of neglect and disorder in the streets, and total absence of the ordinary convenience of lamps for lighting them, we remarked that this was the only place in America, in which we had seen any

thing like livery among the servants. It is true that this was of a humble kind, but it was remarkable from its singularity. The coloured servants of the Bollingbrook Hotel, at which we stopped, wore a uniform light dress, white, with green binding, and a small green military cloth cap, with two smart tassels, hanging over the right ear, which gave the wearers a very neat and disciplined appearance.

At the same place we experienced the greatest contrast in the weather that we had ever yet known since our landing in the United States, the thermometer on the 27th August being at  $98^{\circ}$  in the shade at noon, with a close and sultry air, and dead calm; but in the evening of the same day, a most violent thunder-storm, with incessant lightning and torrents of rain brought the thermometer down to  $60^{\circ}$ , and on the following day it was as low as  $52^{\circ}$ , with a north-east wind, a dull leaden cloudy sky; and to the feelings, the contrast was as great as that of passing, in the course of a single day, from the middle of July to the middle of December.

On the morning of August 29, we left Petersburg for Norfolk, going by the railroad to the banks of the James-river, instead of by the stream of the Appotomax, as the latter, in its winding and circuitous course, makes the distance three times as great as by the former. We left the town about nine o'clock, at which time it was cloudy and cold; but before we reached the end of the railroad, a distance of only twelve miles, which was performed in about three-quarters of an hour, a north-east gale had gathered up, with heavy rain; so that our embarkation in the steam-boat Thomas Jefferson, which

touched here to receive us, on her way down from Richmond, was most uncomfortable. We found her, however, a large and commodious vessel, and there were some agreeable companions and old acquaintances on board as fellow-passengers, whom we were glad to meet.

Our voyage down the James-river, notwithstanding the unfavourable weather, was on the whole agreeable. The river itself is a noble stream, being nearly a mile broad where we embarked, about sixty miles below Richmond, and gradually expanding its width to two, three, four, and even five miles broad, as you approach its mouth, where it empties itself into the Chesapeake, or "Mother of Waters," for such is said to be the signification of this Indian name. Its banks have not the romantic beauties of cliff and mountain, such as line the shores of the Hudson; nor has it the length of the giant Mississippi; but it is much broader than either, and has a succession of fertile fields and luxuriant level landscapes on each side, equal to the finest parts of the Delaware or the Potomac, and greatly superior to the Savannah, the Chatahoochee, and the Alabama rivers, all of which have greater length, but are much inferior to the James-river in breadth and in beauty.

A little way down, on the left bank of the river, we passed a fine old red-brick mansion, with a high roof, and large windows of attic stories projecting from its sloping sides, a lofty and well-carved door-frame and pediment in front, altogether resembling many of the old red-brick mansions seen about Camberwell, Clapham, and Hampstead, as the former

residences of the more opulent merchants near London, such as they were accustomed to inhabit a century ago. We learnt that this was on the well-known estate of Colonel Bird, who was a distinguished friend of the English during the revolutionary war, and at whose house the British officers, with the Tories and Loyalists of that day, used to meet for purposes of counsel and mutual aid. The mansion is upwards of a century old—a great age for any private residence in this country; and it appeared to be in better preservation and order than many buildings of five or six years old in other parts of the interior. We were told, by a fellow-passenger, that every part of the interior was built in the most substantial manner, the walls covered with wainscoat panelling, the ceilings having excellent carvings, the staircases broad, with solid banisters, and everything about it indicative of that taste for strength, durability, and comfort, which characterized the British domestic architecture, both of the mother-country and her colonies, a hundred years since. The out-offices were built as substantially and with as much regularity as the mansion, and everything about the establishment wore the appearance of opulence and permanence, united with neatness and convenience, which is certainly very unusual in the country residences of American planters of the present day. The estate, we understood, had passed out of the Bird family, and was now in other hands; but its present possessor appears to have caught the conservative spirit of its original proprietor, and to keep every thing about the grounds and mansion in the most perfect order. It was the most

English-looking estate that we had seen in the country ; and from the softness and beauty of many of the landscapes along the banks of the stream, we might have fancied ourselves sailing down the Thames—except that the much greater breadth of the James-river prevented the exact resemblance.

It was about one o'clock, after being five hours under way from the place where we started, and going at the rate of twelve miles an hour, that we came in sight of the position occupied by the first English settlement ever made permanent on the continent of America, namely, James-Town, founded by Captain John Smith in 1607. The first legislative assembly of freemen, as the germ of a representative government, ever met together on this continent, was also held here in 1621. We touched at it to land some passengers for Williamsburgh, which is distant about seven miles from this, inland—this being the nearest point of navigation to it by the James-river, as it is an inland town, lying midway between this and the York-river. It was anciently the legislative capital of the province, but it is now a small and declining town, having not more than 1,000 inhabitants. It is one of the very few places in America that have any antiquities in them, and is thus interesting from that circumstance. The remains of the old palace, or Colonial governor's residence, as well as of the old Capitol, or legislative hall, are still shown ; and the old Raleigh tavern, at which the Revolutionary Committees met in the War of Independence, is still kept as a public-house, with the bust of Sir Walter Raleigh over the porch of entrance.

The most important building, however, at Williamsburgh, is the college of William and Mary, founded in 1639, by the sovereigns whose names it bears, they having made a royal grant of 20,000 acres of land for its support. This was subsequently augmented by grants from the Colonial Assembly, of certain duties on all tobacco, spirituous liquors, and furs, exported from the province—strange sources of revenue for the support of learning and piety, for the promotion of which this college was endowed! By its charter of 1693, it was to have five Professors, one of Greek, one of Latin, one of Mathematics, and two of Divinity, to which was added a sixth Professor, for instructing the native Indians in Christianity. The funds for this last Professorship were furnished by the celebrated philosopher, Robert Boyle, of England, who gave an estate, called the Brafferton estate, from his own property, to support this benevolent object; and like the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge at home, this college had its representative in the General Legislative Assembly of the Colony.

Of James-Town, where we stopped, though it was once a large place, there is not now a single dwelling remaining. The only relic of its ancient buildings is a small portion of brick-work belonging to the first Christian church ever erected on this continent, and this is fast going to decay! By any other people than the Americans, such a relic as this would be taken the greatest care of, enclosed, and preserved, as a precious memorial of the days of their forefathers. But though there is much talk in the New England States of veneration for the character of the Pilgrim



Fathers, and loud professions in the Southern States, of great veneration for their revolutionary heroes and statesmen, such as Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Patrick Henry, Richard Lee, and others—both the Northerners and Southerners seem unwilling to testify their admiration by anything more than words, which cost nothing; for when any expense is to be incurred, whether to enclose the Rock of Plymouth, or erect the Monument of Bunker's Hill, to honour the Tomb of Washington, to preserve that of Jefferson, or to save this relic of the times of Smith, Powhatan, and Pocahontas, from destruction—no one seems willing to put their hands in their purses; but all is suffered to crumble into decay.

The Island on which James-Town stood, is united at its north-western end to the mainland by a long low bridge on perpendicular piles; and the bay or harbour formed between its south-eastern end and the shore is still used as a place of shelter for the small-craft of the river; while a solitary farm-house, of modern erection, is the only building now seen over all the space. Near the fragment of the old church are several trees prettily grouped, and among them, overhanging the few tombs that still remain, is a fine weeping willow, an appropriate accompaniment of the scene! James-Town was the chief seat of the Colonial Government from 1607 to 1698, when a great fire occurred, and destroyed most of the public records; the capital was then transferred to Williamsburgh, where it continued till 1779. It was then removed by the first American State Government to Richmond, which has retained that pre-eminence ever since. The property of the Island of

James-Town, has frequently changed hands. It was last in the possession of the family of the Amblers, but it is now the property of a person bearing the same name as its founder, Smith.

After we left James-Town, the storm increased to such violence, and the rain fell so heavily, that it was difficult to see more than half a mile ahead, and consequently the view of the banks on either side was quite obscured, as we stood down the river in mid-channel. Nevertheless, there was much to interest us in the passage. In our way we met the fine large steamer, Patrick Henry, from Norfolk, which saluted the Thomas Jefferson as she passed. It is the custom in each of the States, to call their steam-vessels after the names of the great men which their State has produced, so that you will be sure to meet the Washington in the Potomac, the De Witt Clinton in the Hudson, the Daniel Webster in the harbour of Boston, the Andrew Jackson on the Tennessee river, the Henry Clay on the Kentucky, and the John Calhoun at Charleston; this being a cheap way of doing honour to the leading men of the several States, and at the same time so keeping before the public eye, the claims which each presents to admiration, as to proclaim to all beholders, the superiority of their particular State to every other in the Union. This sectional feeling is carried to a greater height, I think, in this than in any other country under the sun. The traveller will, accordingly, hear every day in conversation, and meet every day in the public prints, with proofs innumerable—first, of the natives of each State believing the section of their birth to be superior to all others, in

the production of the best things, as well as of the best men ;—and then, after all this, differing among themselves as to which shall have precedence over each other :—all uniting with wonderful harmony to claim superiority, as a whole, over every other country in the world, old or new, past or present, or even that which is to come. It would fill a large volume to give the instances of this kind furnished by the papers of the Union in any single week, but I content myself with the following examples, from the Richmond papers of the day, on board—

“MR. WEBSTER IN LONDON.—A London correspondent of the Albany Advertiser says :—Our distinguished countryman, Mr. Webster, is receiving the most flattering attentions, and I must confess I have been disappointed at the *homage* every where done him by the aristocracy of this proud and lordly community. Mr. W. is surely an extraordinary man, unassuming and courteous alike to inferiors and superiors (*if any such he has*), dignified and commanding, so much so, that strangers, from the first moment they meet him, pay him voluntary reverence. During the last two months I have seen much of him, and assure you that every moment has tended to increase my admiration of the man, and it is now *my solemn conviction that the world has not his superior!* I have almost become satisfied that he has no ambitious aspirations for himself, but with the sublime and patriotic feelings of a great and good man, he desires to leave himself in the hands of his countrymen, to be disposed of as his country's good may require, regardless of all consequences to himself. Such a man is a *sublime spectacle*, in these days of political corruption and misrule. But such is Daniel Webster. Unlike some of our foreign functionaries, he knows no difference among his countrymen, so far as they have merit to recommend them. He is alike beloved and respected by all; and be he at the table of the rich, or on the floor of the House of Lords, he is the attraction, *the charm, and the admiration of all who behold him!*

Mr. Clay, however, is the popular idol of the Whigs in the South, as Mr. Webster is in the North; and, accordingly, while the London correspondents of the Northern papers furnish their eulogies on the greatest man *out* of America—since, in the words of the writer, “the world has not his superior”—the poets and prose writers at home, sing the praises of the greatest man *in* America, now that Mr. Webster is not here. These are the strains of one of them—

“Hail to the Statesman great and wise!

The Patriot true and bold!

Where'er our trophied Eagle flies,

His name with pride is told;

From Maine's dark pines, and crags of snow,

To where magnolian breezes blow

O'er rich Floridian flowers;

From hilly East to prairied West,

We hail him as our MIGHTIEST—

Rejoice in him as *ours*.

“His heart has bent in sympathy

Where'er, *throughout the world*,

The yoked have fought for liberty

With freedom's flag unfurled.

Say, Greece! when nations saw you bleed,

Who, trumpet-tongued, proclaimed your need?

And climes of Andes, say!

That templed land with answering shout,

And those stern summits thunder out,

The name of HENRY CLAY.\*

\* Though the Greeks and the South Americans had the sympathies of Mr. Clay, when they shook off the yoke of their oppressors, he has always opposed, to the last hour, the freedom of the North American Slaves; and declared, that if any attempt were made to give them liberty, he would oppose their liberation to the death!

In one of the recent papers here, I met with a paragraph, which I could not help reading to some of those who boasted most of the superior morality of America to all the countries of Europe, and the superior protection of person and property which men enjoyed in this country, to that afforded them in England, as well as the greater freedom of religious opinions. The paragraph showed that all these were set at defiance, very recently, in a State that boasts peculiarly of her New England population, the greatest number of her citizens being natives of Massachusetts and Connecticut, so productive of excellence in men and women. The paragraph is this, from the Norfolk Beacon—

“We learn from the ‘Cincinnati Republican,’ that two persons, one named Mead, a ‘Perfectionist priest,’ and the other Foot, were *turred and feathered* by the inhabitants of the village of Batavia, Geauga county, Ohio, and after having been ridden on a rail for about five miles, were set at liberty. Outrages of this character, perpetrated against the rights of individuals, under whatever pretext they may, are wrong and unjustifiable, and cannot but disgrace the community in which they occur.”

My companions admitted that this was wrong; but then, they added the almost constant remark, “You do not make sufficient allowance for us as a *young* country;” and this, too, in the face of their acquiescence in the justice of those boasts, which claimed for America and the Americans, superiority over all the *old* countries of the world! So inconsistent are those who thus see their virtues through the magnifying, and their faults through the diminishing medium, and turn everything to the indulgence of their national vanity. To show, however,

that if in years America is a young country, she is not so in extravagance of personal expenditure, the following extract from a New York paper, taken from the prolific columns of the same file which furnished the former ones, may be cited—

*“From the New York Dispatch.—WHO SAYS THE TIMES ARE HARD?—Walk in Broadway at the promenade hours, and see the wealth of the Indies carried on the backs of the ladies; notice the tasteful and elegant establishments that roll along the carriage paths; see the doors of the fashionable shopkeepers, with as many carriages drawn up before them as if a great man's levee were held at each—who says, in the face of these facts, that the times are hard?”*

“Look at the elegant fabrics, which Cleopatra might have desired! By the way, of Cleopatra: had Egypt offered a Broadway to go a-shopping in, she could have melted the *revenue of a province* there faster than by dissolving pearls in vinegar. Look into the interior of the splendid stores which line the principal thoroughfares in our city—turn into the furniture and furnishing warehouses—and see the means of gratification for republican luxury. For all these things, *which in elegance surpass any thing which Xerxes knew*, there is apparently no lack of purchasers—and yet the times are hard!”

But, amidst all this luxury of the older countries, there is, indeed, a sad mixture of the barbarity and violence of a new one. Even in Cincinnati, as we have seen, the Queen City, as she is called, the tarring and feathering a “Perfectionist Priest,” is executed by mob violence, as in the worst days of Puritanical persecution; but in addition to this instance of religious intolerance in that quarter, here is another, of outrages against men merely for their religious opinions, in the West.

“THE MORMONS have excited a good deal of interest in Cin-

cinnati, where one of the sect has been giving a history of that people and of the persecutions to which they have been recently exposed in Missouri.—It is stated in the report given in the Cincinnati News, that they were ruthlessly driven from their homes, their property destroyed, the women and children forced into the woods, without shelter from the inclemency of the weather, where they roamed about till their feet became so sore, that their enemies *tracked them by their foot-prints of blood*. The Mormons stated that there were instances where men were murdered in cold blood, and boys, who had taken shelter from the fury of the mob, were dragged from their hiding-places, and after being cruelly maltreated, deliberately shot. In one case, an old man, *a soldier of the revolution*, was pursued by a mob, but finding he could not escape, turned and *supplanted their mercy*. The reply he received was a shot from a rifle, which wounded him mortally; he still besought them to spare him, when one of the party picked up a scythe, or sickle, and *literally hacked him to pieces* as he lay on the ground.

“Thomas Morris, formerly U. S. Senator, addressed the meeting.—He said he had been in the vicinity of these transactions, and had taken some pains to acquaint himself with the facts; and from all he could learn, the Mormons were an industrious and harmless people; that no specific charges had been brought against them by the Executive of Missouri; but that their persecution was for no other reason than that their *religion* gave offence to a mob—for causes which may at any time induce the same persecution of any religious sect in our land. He said he believed the statements made to be true, and that they were corroborated by those who resided in the vicinity of their occurrence.”

But these mobs not only take upon themselves to decide what religion a man shall believe; they determine also what degree of punishment a culprit shall receive; and though they more frequently set the law at defiance by punishing their victims previous to a trial, in some cases they do it afterwards. Here is an instance from a recent paper.,

*"Lynching in a Court House,—*At Copiah in Mississippi, shortly after a prisoner, named Alvin Carpenter, charged with murdering the late Judge Keller, had been acquitted of the crime, and convicted of manslaughter only, a mob rushed into the room, put out the lights, stabbed Carpenter in several places, and cut off his head, leaving him dead on the floor!"

In the arrears of their Law Courts, and in the amount of fees accumulated by the "law's delay," they seem very much like "an old country," and not at all like a young one, as the newest of their States in the following will show.

"At the recent session of the U. S. Circuit Court in Mississippi, there were 2,700 cases on the docket. The fees of the Clerk of the Court for the session, were upwards of 40,000 dollars."

One other trait of American feelings I cannot omit to mention, as suggested by another extract from the file of three days' papers before referred to; and in which they are as inconsistent as in all things else. There is not, I think, a nation upon the earth, more prone to make distinctions among men, from their birth and wealth, than the Americans. The talk about "old families," and being "highly connected," and "moving in the first circles of society;" and the looking down with contempt upon "people whom nobody knows," or who are "not in society;" is nowhere carried to a greater extent than here; and the very children are found making these distinctions. This will account for the amazing eagerness with which the greater number of Americans who go to England and France, seek to be introduced at Court, and affect to be patronized and received by the nobility and fashionable world there. This has been carried to such an extent of late, as to have



become the subject of just ridicule among themselves ; and especially since the “ Victoria fever,” as it is popularly called, has prevailed so extensively in this country, where the name of Victoria has been appended to almost every thing, from Mr. Sully’s portrait of the Queen, down to the last new oyster-shop opened in New York. Yet, amidst all these, this they instil in their school-books and lessons to children, and by various modes among adults, the most virulent hostility to royalty. The term of the greatest opprobrium which they think can apply to a man, is to call him “an aristocrat;” and to a politician, to call him “a royalist.”

In conversation and discussions on all these points, sometimes waxing warm, but happily terminating in peace and harmony, we were occupied during the storm of wind and rain which prevented our going on deck, from James-town to Norfolk, into the harbour of which we entered about five o’clock, passing close under the stern of the Brandywine frigate, lying abreast of the Naval Hospital, and threading our way up through the forest of schooners and other small craft that had run in here to take shelter from the gale, we reached the wharf in safety. The rain, however, still fell in torrents, the wharves were mostly overflown, and the streets were filled with water ; so that we had to wade our way through ponds of water to French’s Hotel, where we found excellent quarters and agreeable company.

## CHAP. XXI.

Description of Norfolk—Antiquity of the town—Excellence of its harbour—Portsmouth and Gosport—Navy Yard—Population, slave and free—Gradual decline of trade—Slave and free States—Revived culture of silk—Central Atlantic States best adapted to its growth—Agriculture and mining neglected for more exciting pursuits—Influence of political agitation on rural industry—Excursion to the Navy Yard—Portsmouth and Gosport—Completeness of the establishment—Visit to the great ship-of-the-line, *Pennsylvania*—Description and dimensions of this splendid vessel—British frigates captured by the Americans—Inconsistency of war with Christianity—Naval Asylum—Size, efficiency, and equipment of American frigates—Free negroes as able seamen—Character and manners of American naval officers.

NORFOLK is an old Colonial town, having received its charter of incorporation from the British government, and stands next to Williamsburgh in point of date, that being the oldest existing town in all Virginia. The excellence of its port and harbour must have recommended it as an early place of settlement, as soon as it was sufficiently well known; as it is superior to that of James' Town, or indeed any other spot within the whole extent of the Virginia coast. It is so far in from the sea, so winding in its passage of entrance, and so entirely land-locked, that it affords the most complete shelter from all winds; while it has depth of water for the largest vessels that float, with shallow anchorages for the smallest craft, and excellent holding-ground for all. The

points of projecting land on both sides of the channel, from the Capes of Virginia up to the town, are also well fortified, so as to make it as secure from the ravages of an enemy as it is from the fury of the storm; nor is the navigation of entrance or exit ever interrupted by adverse winds, by ice, or by any other cause, at any season of the year.

The town is built on a level but projecting plain, about eight miles within or above Hampton Roads, on the north bank of the Elizabeth river, where the junction of its southern and eastern branches just meet the tide-waters of the sea. Its present area covers nearly 800 acres of ground; and buildings are every year extending themselves beyond this. The plan of the town is not marked by that extreme regularity which is so characteristic of American cities generally; but even in this respect it is much improved of late years, the streets being now more regular, and the houses larger and more substantially built, than they were formerly.

I have before stated that Norfolk was the only place in the United States of America, that I had ever visited previous to my present tour. This was as long ago as the year 1809, just thirty years since, when the intercourse between Great Britain and America was for a short time suspended by what was called the Non-intercourse Act. At that period, however, I came here, from London, in an American ship, called the *Rising States*, of Marble-head, commanded by Captain Atkins Adams, now living at Fairhaven in Massachusetts, and with whom we had the pleasure to pass an agreeable fortnight in December of last year. At this period of my first

visit to Norfolk, the town was not more than half its present size ; the streets were crooked, narrow, and unpaved, and the dwellings were almost wholly of wood ; the Navy-yard was just in embryo, the fortifications hardly begun, and the Naval Asylum not even projected. The town is now large in extent, its streets are straight, broad, and well paved, and the houses are chiefly of brick, several large fires having from time to time removed all the wooden ones. The Navy-yard is one of the best in the Union ; the fortifications are the strongest and most efficient on the coast ; and the Naval Asylum is the best building of the description in the country. While these changes had been effected in the aspect of the place, others of a more painful kind had occurred in the society to whom I was then introduced, and in the enjoyment of whose friendly hospitalities I had passed four agreeable winter months. Death had swept away whole families, who were then numerous, and apparently all in vigorous health ; many had removed to other and more busy seats of commercial activity ; and others had emigrated to the Far West ; so that out of upwards of a hundred individuals, whose names, professions, ages, and persons, I could familiarly recall to my own recollection, and many to the recollection of some of the older residents still remaining here, not one was now to be found, with whom to talk over the events and incidents of so comparatively short a period as thirty years ago ! I do not think it possible that such a change could have taken place in any town of similar size in England ; and here it is to be accounted for by the operation of two powerful causes ;—first, the inferior

healthiness of the climate to that of England ; and, secondly, the more unsettled and migratory character of the people, who have fewer local attachments, I believe, than any people known ; and who constantly move from place to place, and abandon friends, relatives, connexions, and associations, with an indifference that appears as unamiable as it is surprising.

There are few public buildings of great beauty or interest in the town of Norfolk. Neither the Court-House, Custom-house, Alms-house, Academy, or Mason's Lodge, have anything remarkable in their architecture ; and even the Churches, of which there are eight in number, though neat and commodious within, have less commanding exteriors than these edifices in general possess ; so that they add little or nothing to the beauty of the town. Of these last, there are two Episcopalian—one of them, St. Paul's, being a hundred years old, built in 1739, of bricks brought from England—two Methodist, one Baptist, one Catholic, and one for coloured persons, slaves and free. A Lyceum and Infant School House have lately been erected, and a Theatre, to be called “ The Avon,” is nearly complete, to be under the direction of Mr. George Jones, the American tragedian, who was in England, and who is endeavouring to effect the same reform in the drama in this country that Mr. Macready has done at home, by restoring the legitimate plays of the old school, especially those of Shakspeare, and performing only the most approved and classical productions of modern pens. There are two newspapers, the *Herald*, and *Beacon*, the former, whig—the latter, moderate democrat ;

with a larger proportion of hotels and taverns, than an inland town of the same size would require. There are several societies of a benevolent kind, one called "The Hannah More Society," for the education of poor children, of which we saw seventeen baptized in one afternoon at the Episcopalian church of St. Michael's. In the neighbourhood of the town, a large piece of ground has been recently laid out as a public Cemetery, and this is tastefully adorned with trees and shrubs.

Opposite to Norfolk, on the southern bank of the Elizabeth-river, and distant about a mile, is the town of Portsmouth; and to the south of this, and almost adjoining it, is the suburb of Gosport, at which is the Navy Yard; the communication from Norfolk to Portsmouth being by a steam ferry-boat, and from Portsmouth to Gosport, by a wooden bridge.

The population of Norfolk is estimated at 12,000 persons; and Portsmouth and Gosport united, about 3,000. Of these, the proportions are thought to be 8,000 whites, 6,000 black slaves, and 1,000 free people of colour.

Notwithstanding the excellence of Norfolk as a port, and its central position on the coast, as the inlet to the oldest, largest, and most beautiful State in the Union, has little commerce; and, at the present moment, there were only four square-rigged vessels in the port; a French ship, loading tobacco for France; a Philadelphia ship, loading lumber for the West Indies; a Boston ship, waiting for freight; and a small brig under repair. The contrast which this slender catalogue presents to the forests of masts seen along the wharves of New York, and still more

of those lining the banks of the Mississippi at New Orleans, is very striking. Some years ago, Norfolk enjoyed a considerable trade with the West Indies, but this has gone to the two rival ports named above ; and even in the shipment of tobacco and flour, for which Norfolk was the principal port of Virginia thirty years ago, Richmond has taken its place, so that of trade little remains to it beyond the transit of goods to and from Wilmington in North Carolina, by means of the Dismal-Swamp Canal. There seems so little of hope or energy in the few remaining mercantile establishments here, that though there is frequent talk of Southern conventions for the purpose of restoring the direct trade between Europe and the ports of the South, it seems very doubtful whether any beneficial change in this respect will take place, till free labour takes the place of slave-labour in Virginia and Carolina, and till the two States shall be filled up in their interior with a large industrious, enterprising, and consuming white population, for whose supply large imports will be required. Then, indeed, Norfolk may hope to equal New York, which flourishes chiefly because she has a populous and consuming community pressing all around her, to which she becomes, therefore, the direct port of supply. For the same reason, New York is the chief point of entrance for the emigrants from Europe, not merely because they can be most cheaply and speedily landed there, but also because, in that busy scene, they are most likely to obtain immediate employment, or immediate transport to the West, whichever they desire. While at Norfolk, therefore, there

does not arrive 100 emigrants in the year, the following is the number arriving at New York—

“EMIGRATION.—The ‘New York American’ estimates the passengers that have arrived in this country within the last twenty years at 1,000,000. The ‘Journal of Commerce’ has compiled the following statement of arrivals *at that port* for each of the last twenty years—

<i>Years.</i>	<i>Passengers.</i>	<i>Years.</i>	<i>Passengers</i>
1819	- 9,442	1829	- 16,064
1820	- 4,430	1830	- 30,224
1821	- 4,452	1831	- 31,739
1822	- 4,811	1832	- 48,589
1823	- 4,999	1833	- 41,752
1824	- 5,452	1834	- 48,110
1825	- 8,779	1835	- 35,303
1826	- 9,764	1836	- 60,441
1827	- 22,000	1837	- 54,975
1828	- 19,023	1838	- 25,681

First ten years 93,152

Second ten years 392,878

In twenty years 486,030 passengers.

Corresponding with this will be found the immense activity of conveyance from that city to the interior—

“There are 126 steamers on the Hudson river, (including ferry-boats,) of which 58 are employed in towing freight barges, 12 for pleasure excursions, 17 undergoing repairs, 8 running between New York and Albany, 3 between New York and Newberg, and the rest to the various towns on the rivers.”

This continued immigration of new settlers, of which the Slave States receive scarcely any proportion, and Virginia probably less than all, is continually going on at other points. It is stated, by a recent report of a Committee of Congress, that no



less than 80,000 emigrants passed westward from Louisville, in Kentucky, to the free States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, in the short space of five months. In four months of one year, 10,000 emigrants passed a single ferry at New Albany for the West! Upwards of 1,000 Saxons arrived lately at New Orleans, to ascend the Mississippi to Iowa, having, it was said, more than 100,000*l.* in gold and silver coin with them, as capital; and a late Baltimore paper, the "American," says, that within two or three days, there had been ten arrivals at that port from Bremen, bringing about 1,200 German emigrants, all bound to the free States of the West; while a large body of Norwegians, the first importation from that quarter, also landed on the shores of America, to add to the free population of the interior States! The Slave sections of the country receive none of the advantages which all this augmentation of a free white population creates, and this is the chief reason of their stationary condition; though, if Slavery were abolished in Virginia, and free labour duly encouraged to take its place, there is no reason why it should not soon fill up with as large a proportion of emigrants as any other section of the country. We should then see the Chesapeake crowded with steamers, and Norfolk harbour filled with ships and vessels, as thickly as the waters of the West. Of the extent of these, in half the time that has elapsed since James Town was founded, or since Baltimore and Norfolk have been considerable towns and ports, let the following statement testify—

"STEAM-BOATS IN THE WEST.—It appears there are now 378 steam-boats running on the Western and South-western waters. Of

this number, according to a statement in the 'Daily Advocate,' no less than 130 were built in Pittsburg. But the statement or enrolment of boats is for the 1st of January last ; and since that period, it appears from the 'Advocate's' paragraph, that 21 steam-boats have been built and cleared, and 9 new boats are in progress of construction at Pittsburg, thus making 160 steam-boats now afloat, or soon to be, on the Western waters, from the ship-yards of the western Birmingham. The whole number of steam-boats on the Western and South-western waters, may then be stated at 408. And within the memory of middle-aged men, there was not a "solitary" steam-boat on the Western waters !"

There are some who are very sanguine as to the benefits which will be conferred on this State of Virginia in general, and on the country around Norfolk in particular, by the new, or rather revived, culture of silk. As long ago as 1650, a pamphlet was published in London, by a writer named Edward Williams, recommending the cultivation of silk in Virginia. Even before this, as we learn from Cox's "Description of Carolina," the English colonists of Raleigh's expedition, sent home some silk, of which Queen Elizabeth had a gown made, and wore it at Court ; and ten years after Williams's pamphlet was written, when Sir William Berkeley, the loyal governor of Virginia, who, in 1660, went to England from hence to congratulate Charles the Second on his restoration to the English throne, it is stated by the historian Oldmixon, that he was graciously received by Charles, "who, in honour of his loyal Virginians, wore, at his coronation, a robe manufactured of Virginian silk." From that time to this, the culture of this article appears to have been entirely neglected in this State ; but it is on the eve of being revived with more than its pristine vigour. Nearly all the

States of the Union, from Maine to Florida, and from New York to Missouri, appear to have entered into the cultivation of the *morus multicaulis* tree, for the purpose of rearing silkworms, and producing silk.

With the results already obtained, and with the well-founded prospects held out for the future, it is hardly to be wondered at, that all classes of persons in this country should be looking to the culture of silk as a branch of enterprise and industry, which is likely to rival even that of cotton itself, especially as the latter is confined of necessity to those Southern States in which a certain heat of climate is essential for its production ; whereas, the silkworm can be reared, and silk produced and manufactured in the northern as well as in the southern States, and westward of the Mississippi as well as on the borders of the Atlantic. But the central Atlantic States, from New Jersey and Pennsylvania to the Carolinas and Georgia, are, no doubt, the best adapted to the culture, and in these it is probable that it will flourish most. Indeed, in these, and in Maryland and Virginia, the soil and climate are so favourable to production of all kinds, that it is more difficult to say what they will not yield than what they will. This is beginning at length to be more generally understood than formerly ; and but for the Slave system, which hangs like a curse upon these fertile regions, the inhabitants would have availed themselves of their resources long ago.

The truth is, that agriculture and mining are occupations which are too laborious, too dull, and too steady for the general taste of the Americans, who can-

not live happily but in an atmosphere of excitement ; and therefore commerce, speculation, lotteries, stock-jobbing, and banking, are much more to their taste. They will bustle through the streets, and in their stores, from sunrise to sunset, in the *hope* of turning a hundred dollars profit, and meet on 'Change, buy and sell, speculate and barter, with zeal and activity, dreaming of making their thousands by every large operation. But the sober labour of agriculture is too plodding and too slow for them ; unless it be in the way of some speculating adventure. Thus, when the wheat cultivation was so neglected a few years ago, as to require the importation of grain for food from Europe, the production of cotton was stimulated to its greatest excess, because it was a more gambling kind of commerce. And even now, the *rage* for cultivating the *morus multicaulis*, for such it may be called, arises chiefly from the love of speculation, and delight in excitement, which the enterprise affords.

Political agitation is another powerful cause that draws off the attention of the masses in the interior from the proper cultivation of the soil ; and the time wasted in reading the angry party discussions in the newspapers, in assembling at the country post-offices to know the result of the elections, which are going on nearly all the year round in some part of the country or other, as well as the habit of idle gossiping and lounging in the piazzas of the hotels and at the bars of taverns, with the chewing, smoking, and drinking to which all this leads, are serious drawbacks to the rural industry of America, especially in the Southern States, where slavery comes in

to add its influence to all the other causes of retardation.

Our first excursion, while at Norfolk, was to the Navy Yard of Gosport, the suburb of Portsmouth, on the opposite side of the harbour. Having letters of introduction to Commodore Warrington, who commanded there, we were most cordially received, and the Commodore's son, himself a young officer in the navy, accompanied us in our investigations. This yard is one of the oldest, though not one of the largest, in the United States, containing an area of about twenty acres; and though its original plan is yet far from being filled up, it is, even at present, very complete in all the requisites of a building and repairing establishment. Its ship-houses, or huge sheds, under which are line-of-battle ships and frigates building on the stocks, are equal in size, and superior in construction and finish, to any of those in the best dock-yards of England. Its mast-houses, boat-houses, sail-lofts, smith's forge, and other workshops, are also very efficient, and inferior to none in the world. Its dry-dock is a magnificent structure of New England granite; its solidity and massiveness of material, exquisite closeness of masonry, and its perfect finish of workmanship, would do honour to any country; while its size is sufficient to admit a larger ship than has ever yet been built, even by the Americans, who have, at present, lying alongside the wharf of this navy-yard, the largest vessel of war that has ever yet been launched.

We went to visit this colossal ship, the *Pennsylvania*, built at Philadelphia, and now lying here ready for equipment when needed. In order that

we might see her from every point of view, we first rowed up and down the Elizabeth-river, on the south bank of which the navy-yard is placed, and by advancing and receding, we had the opportunity of seeing her hull in every variety of position. Nothing can be conceived more graceful and beautiful than the form of this immense structure, as she reposed on the tranquil stream. Her model is perfect, and so skilfully are her mouldings and lines rounded off, so gracefully do they ascend towards the bow, and so softly are they bent towards the stern-post, that the whole fabric does not strike one so much by its magnitude, after all, as by its beauty. In this respect it resembles, in the effect produced, a colossal temple of Greece or Egypt, where the magnitude of size is lost in the symmetry of the design, and where the whole is dwelt upon with that feeling of pleasure produced by the consciousness of stability and repose, and by the sense of a perfection with which no fault can be found—so exquisitely blended, and so harmonious, are all her proportions. From having no poop-deck, the cumbrous appearance of our English line-of-battle ships in that quarter is avoided; and her stern having, for this reason, one tier of cabin windows less, is as light as that of an English 74, though the *Pennsylvania* has four tiers of batteries or decks, and carries 150 guns. On her cutwater at the head, is placed a colossal bust of the Grecian Hercules, with naked shoulders and breast, the lower part of the waist enveloped with the skin, head, and paws of the Nemean lion, while the head and beard are of the thick curly hair that denotes strength, and the countenance is as majestic as that of Jove himself.

It is the rule of the Naval Service of America, to call their line-of-battle ships after the names of the States, their frigates after their rivers, and their sloops-of-war after their towns ; a most appropriate and convenient nomenclature, as the name of every vessel at once indicates the class to which she belongs, and each State, river, and town in the Union, is thus likely in time to be represented by some ship of the Navy. The Pennsylvania having been built at Philadelphia, it was intended at first to place on her prow the bust of William Penn. But this was soon abandoned, as nothing could be more inappropriate than the figure of the Advocate of Peace, and founder of the City of Brotherly Love, especially as an Englishman, standing on the bow of this floating-citadel, and leading its occupants, with their death-inflicting artillery in an onslaught of blood upon some ship of his native country ; for to such a purpose, in the event of another war would she be destined. In abandoning this intention, therefore, they adopted the idea of substituting the figure of Hercules, as emblematic of the strength of the great bulwark crowned by his bust ; and as a work of art, it forms the most beautiful "figure-head" that I have ever seen in any ship in any service, having strength, simplicity, lightness, and grace, all beautifully united in one.

After examining and admiring the exterior of the hull, we went on board ; and it was here that the immensity of her size became for the first time apparent. Her main-deck battery presented 18 long 42-pounders on each side ; and each of her decks were splendid examples of length, breadth, height,

solidity, and space. On the upper or fourth deck, where the view, in consequence of the absence of a poop, extended in one unbroken line, from taffrel to bowsprit, the vista was magnificent in the extreme. Her length is 237 feet; her breadth of beam 59 feet; her depth amidships 51 feet; and her burden 3,366 tons; her sheet-anchor weighs 11,660 lbs.; the canvass required for one suit of sails, hammocks, awnings, for ship and boats, is about 33,000 yards. But while the vastness of the scale, and the massiveness of the materials, the solidity of the timbers, knees, beams, decks, cable-bitts, capstans, masts, and bulwarks, first rivet the attention; the careful and critical observer cannot fail to be subsequently struck with the minute accuracy and perfection of the interior workmanship; the shipwright's knees being as well fitted as the joiner's or cabinet-maker's bulkheads and cabin ceilings: thus uniting the excellence of greatness in size and minuteness of finish, which was observed by the Arabic historian, Abulfeda, to be characteristic of the Egyptian Sphynx, near the Great Pyramid of Cheops at Memphis, when he said, that "while its gigantic scale placed it among the most colossal monuments of the world, its minuter parts would bear to be examined with a microscope."

On our return to Norfolk, we enjoyed the pleasurable conveyance of one of the man-of-war boats, then at the Navy Yard on duty, Captain Payne of the *Grampus* schooner politely accompanying us. In our way we passed the noble ship of the line, *Delaware*, mounting ninety guns, with a fine full-length figure of a Delaware Indian Chief for her figure-



head ; and at the same time we saw two frigates, bearing the names of the English ships taken by the Americans ; the *Guerriere*, the first capture made in the last war by the American frigate *Constitution* ; and the *Java*, another English frigate taken soon after by the same American ship and the same captain, now Commodore Hull, commanding the *Ohio* of eighty guns on the Mediterranean station. These British frigates were so crippled in action, that the first was unfit for repair when taken into port, and the second was sunk in the fight. But it was thought politic to keep constantly alive in the memory of American seamen these conquests from the British on their own element, and thus to stimulate them with the hope of new victories, by having always before them the triumphs of old ones. Two frigates were therefore built by the Americans, and called respectively, the *Guerriere* and the *Java*. The first is now lying up in ordinary, and the second is in commission as the guardship of the port ; but their names will, no doubt, be perpetuated in other ships that may be built to replace them ; a policy of which we, at least, have no right to complain, as it was our constant practice, long before the Americans had a navy at all, to retain the names of the vessels captured from the French, both in our line-of-battle-ships and frigates, as trophies of our prowess by sea, and as examples to our seamen, of what their predecessors had done, and what *they* were expected to achieve also, wherever the opportunity of so doing was presented to them.

In all this, however, there is much to lament, if not to condemn. The propensities to anger, strife,

hatred, jealousy, war, and bloodshed, are already too strong in human nature, without undue excitements, and require curbing rather than spurring on, in the mildest and best of our race ; but when this tendency is continually strengthened, by warlike armaments and deadly weapons, being made matter of exhibition of national pride, and mutual emulation, as to who shall excel in their production ; and when to all this is still further added, the willing homage of mankind to those who conduct these armaments, and use these deadly weapons with the most destructive effect, almost deifying as heroes, the most successful slaughterers of their fellow-men, and stigmatizing as cowards those, who by precept and example, endeavour to stay the sacrifice of human life rather than promote it ; when all this is daily taking place, in the most intelligent, moral, and religious communities on earth, for so, with all their defects, America and England may fairly be considered, how can we wonder that in less enlightened lands, such as Spain, Portugal, and Turkey, the ravages of war should be almost perpetual, and the fairest portions of the earth, though it is " God's footstool," be daily drenched with the blood of man, shed by his fellow being !

The second excursion we made from Norfolk was to see the Naval Asylum, built on a projecting piece of land, just opposite the usual anchorage of the ships of war in the harbour, and forming a very pleasing as well as appropriate object in the marine picture. This Asylum has been erected out of a Hospital Fund, contributed by the officers and seamen of the United States' Navy, at the rate of 20 cents, or

ten-pence sterling per month from their pay, without asking or receiving any aid either from the general or the State government. It is intended to answer the double purpose of a hospital for the sick belonging to the ships of the navy on service and in the port, and an asylum for the aged and the disabled, when no longer fit for active duty. It is a large quadrangular building, composed of a front, a rear, and two side-wings; forming a square of about 200 feet on each side. The front pile of this quadrangle has a noble Doric portico of ten massive columns, with an ascending flight of steps, an entablature, frieze, and pediment, all in excellent taste. Before it is a fine lawn, formed by the projecting point of the little promontory on which it stands, with gravel-walks, trees, and shrubs, and surrounded by the sea on three of its sides. In this range are contained the residences of the director, surgeons, and officers, with the board-room and other offices. The two side-wings are devoted to the sick-wards and the sleeping-rooms, for the inmates; the healthy and the sick being kept, of course, apart. These are three stories in height, with a spacious balcony or veranda to each story, both on the outer front, and on the inner one, presented to the central internal square. Every practicable arrangement seems to have been made in these, for durability, cleanliness, ventilation, and comfort. The rear range is devoted to baths, of which there are all varieties, of hot, cold, and shower baths, of fresh-water or sea-water, as required; and in this range are also other offices conducive to the comfort and efficiency of the establishment.

Besides the spacious lawn in front of the Asylum, and the more secluded grass-plats in the central or internal square, a large and beautiful garden sweeps round the rear of the pile, in a semicircular form. This is enclosed by a high and well-constructed brick-wall, admirably adapted for wall-fruit trees, and the interior is laid out with great taste and judgment, in the happy admixture of grass-plats, gravel walks, fruit-trees, shrubs, and flower-beds ; furnishing abundance, variety, and pleasurable occupation, to all who are able to enjoy it. Outside this more ornamental garden, is a second semicircular sweep, devoted to the cultivation of roots and vegetables for culinary purposes ; and beyond this again, pressing close upon its limits, is a fine dry pine-tree grove, intersected by paths, and open places, like the Bois de Boulogne, near Paris, and admirably adapted for the exercise of driving, riding, or walking, at all times of the day, and at all seasons of the year.

Around the edge of the projecting land on which the hospital stands, there is a hard white sandy beach, affording the most delightful bathing in the open sea, within hail of the usual anchorage, for ships of war ; a frigate and a schooner being now at anchor there. The view right and left from hence extends over a considerable space, embracing the towns of Norfolk, Portsmouth, and Gosport, on the one hand, with all the stationary shipping in their respective harbours ; and on the other, it extends to Craney Island, the mouth of the James-river, Old Point Comfort, and the entrance between the Capes of the Chesapeake, with all the moving variety of ships and vessels arriving and departing at all hours

of the day. It is impossible to imagine, indeed, a more delightful or more appropriate spot for a Naval Hospital than this; and it was agreeable to us to learn from various quarters, that its inmates, who are at present but few in number, not exceeding twenty, are very happy; and that its management unites medical skill and paternal kindness in the highest degree.

In our way from the Hospital we visited the schooner *Grampus*, and the frigate *Brandywine*, both lying here ready for sea, the first waiting for orders, and the second about to proceed to the Mediterranean. The schooner was about 200 tons, mounted 12 guns, 18-pound carronades, and carried a crew of seventy men. She was most efficient in every requisite, and was in beautiful order. The frigate was a superb ship of her class. She was originally built to bring over General Lafayette, in his friendly visit to America, about the year 1806; and was called the *Brandywine*, in compliment to him, this being the name of one of the American rivers, near Wilmington, in Delaware, on the banks of which Lafayette was engaged, in the war of the Revolution, and contributed to the successful issue of the battle of the *Brandywine*. The name, however, is not a happy one, and many of the officers of the ship desire that it should be changed to the *Lafayette*. The ship is one of the finest frigates I ever remember to have seen. Her exterior form is the perfection of nautical beauty; she sits on the water with the lightness and grace of a bird; and, as in the *Pennsylvania*, the harmony of her proportions, and the faultless beauty of her model,

take away from the impression of her size. But when you stand upon her deck, her dimensions then display themselves. She is 197 feet long, within a few feet, therefore, of the length of the usual run of English line-of-battle ships, which in two-deckers rarely exceeds 200 feet; her breadth and height are in full proportion to her length; and she measures about 2,000 tons. She mounts 60 guns, long 32-pounders, and has a crew of 470 men.

In all her internal arrangements, in efficiency of stores, and completeness of equipment in every respect, no English frigate that I have ever seen, could surpass her; and her crew was the finest set of men I ever saw assembled on a ship's deck. I was present at their muster, saw them at their work, and was on board while they took their dinner, so that I had ample opportunity to observe them under various aspects. The odious and detestable practice of impressment never being resorted to, in order to man the American ships of war, the officer in command, while the ship is fitting out, has it in his power to select the best men that offer, and thus to have a picked crew. In addition to the excellent wages of twelve dollars, or about 2*l.* 10*s.* sterling per month, and full rations of the best provisions, a bounty of thirty-six dollars, or about 7*l.* 10*s.* sterling, equal to three months' pay, is given to every able seaman entering for three years, which is the utmost limit of the term required, with power of renewal or of liberty at its termination.

In the Brandywine there were forty able seamen, who were free negroes. I was much struck with the fine, and even noble appearance of these men; their

erect and muscular forms no longer crouching under the influence of forced servitude, nor their heads hung down under a consciousness of inferiority, but leading a free, bold, independent, and active life, their appearance partook of these new influences, and they were among the finest-looking men in the ship. In answer to my inquiries of the first-lieutenant, who had been upwards of thirty years in the service, I learnt that they received exactly the same bounty, the same wages, the same rations, and the same privileges as the whites; and that in their arrangements and classification for duty, as fore-castle-men, top-men, waisters, and after-guard, no distinction was made between black and white, but each were mingled indiscriminately, and classed only by their relative degrees of seamanship. In this, he said, the blacks were not at all inferior to the whites, either in their skill, readiness, or courage. Nor did the white seamen evince the slightest reluctance to be associated with them on terms of the most perfect equality in the discharge of their duties, or make their colour a subject of antipathy or reproach. The cooks and stewards were chiefly coloured men, because they stand the heat better, and fall into these occupations more readily; and from the negro seamen, the launch for wooding and watering, and for anchor duty, was generally manned, because the African constitution could stand the heat of the sun, and the atmosphere of swamps and marshes, better than the American. In point of health, however, they were quite equal; and while the service was rendered more efficient by this arrangement, neither party objected to the classification. It was really to

me a most agreeable sight to see forty or fifty of these fine athletic Africans holding up their heads like men, and looking as if conscious of their independence and equality, though at the same time respectful, obedient, and less frequently subjected to punishment for neglect of duty, than their white brethren.

The officers of the ships we had visited to-day, and, indeed, all those of the naval service of America that I had yet seen, either now, or at any former time—and I have seen them in many parts of the world, and under a great variety of circumstances—appeared to me in no degree inferior to the officers of the British navy, in knowledge of their profession, gentlemanly manners, or general information : in one respect, indeed, they seemed to me superior to the officers of our own service, generally ; namely, in the entire absence of hauteur, and overbearing self-importance ; and in the exhibition of great mildness, and respect towards those out of their profession. Here there is no young officer, who dares presume on his high connections, to play the tyrant over his men ; no sons of wealthy parents, who can afford to give them large annual allowances beyond their pay ; nor are there any of the numerous class of persons possessing parliamentary interest in their families, and thereby counting on promotions and appointments, which their shipmates of longer service, and greater merits, cannot obtain for want of such connections.

In the absence of all these exciting causes of dissatisfaction, which are so prolific of discontent among the officers in the British Navy ; the American Naval Service is a dignified, quiet, friendly, and gentlemanly school ; where there are no high-born to look



down upon the low ; no very rich, to annoy, and vex by contrast, the humbler poor ; and no favourites of fortune to be run up from midshipmen to post-captains in a few years, while grey-headed lieutenants look on with silent disgust and secret indignation. The promotions in the American Navy are by seniority, as in our Royal Marines and Artillery ; and as in the East India Company's Navy and Army : and though in all such cases, the promotion will be slow, yet it being equitable, and equally rapid for all ; the sense of its justice reconciles men to wait for their advancement, if all are obliged to do the same. The pay, too, is more liberal than ours. An American midshipman, besides being treated much more like a gentleman by his superior officers, than is too frequently the case in the British Navy, is four times as well paid while in active service, and receives for his half-pay, when not employed, nearly three times as much as the English midshipman on full pay : the latter, when not employed, getting no half-pay at all. Lieutenants, masters, pursers, surgeons, captains, and commodores, all receive from twice to three times the amount of pay allowed to similar ranks in the British Navy. The consequence is, that, whether promoted or not, American Naval officers can all live like gentlemen on their pay, whether on home or foreign service ; whereas English Naval officers, with nothing but their pay, experience the greatest difficulty to keep out of debt ; and many, from despair of obtaining promotion, abandon themselves to habits, which bring both themselves and the service into disrepute.

## CHAP. XXII.

- Visit to the Fortifications at Old Point Comfort—The Rip-Raps, like the Plymouth Break-water—Stoppage of works from suspension of funds—List of the public defaulters to Government—Fish dinners—Comparison between American and English Churches—Religion and Slavery—Capture of Spanish slaves—Distinctions—Internal slave-trade and slave-mart in Norfolk—Society of Norfolk—General ease and frankness of the men—Beauty of the women—Social and polished manners—Colonial Society—The Dismal Swamp.

THE third excursion we made from Norfolk, was to Old Point Comfort, the fort erected to guard the outer entrance from the Chesapeake Bay to Hampton Roads, James-river and the harbour of Norfolk. We embarked, for this purpose, on board the steamer called “The Old Dominion”—a very favourite name with the Virginians, one of the newspapers published at the opposite town of Portsmouth bearing the same title—and leaving Norfolk at ten in the forenoon, we proceeded down the harbour, passing the beautiful schooner and magnificent frigate lying off the Naval Hospital, and a number of dismasted and disabled vessels, that had taken shelter here after the late destructive gale. Continuing our way past Craney Island, the mouth of the James-river, and through Hampton Roads, we reached Old Point Comfort about half-past eleven, the distance being sixteen miles; and landing at a convenient wharf there, we repaired to the hotel near the beach.

As this is one of the largest and most important forts of the country, I had naturally supposed that there would be a governor, an officer of the guard, sentries at the gates, and the usual military rules by which such places are regulated; and being anxious to conform to these, I directed my inquiries accordingly. I was surprised to learn, however, that I should find neither sentries, guards, nor officers of any kind, as there were no troops in the fort, its only occupants being a few artificers, and that, therefore, we might walk through every part of it at our leisure.

The Fort is advantageously placed on a projecting point of land, at the confluence of the James-river with the Chesapeake, lying east of the former and west of the latter, and guarding the entrance to the anchorage called Hampton Roads, which must be passed through by all ships approaching Richmond or Norfolk from the sea. The area covered by the fort requires a circuit of about a mile to compass it, as you walk round the ramparts. The walls, the salient angles, and the batteries, are constructed of solid stone, and are of excellent workmanship. A regular ditch surrounds the outer wall, and is filled with water. In the interior of the fort are the usual arrangements of barracks for the troops, officers' quarters, spacious parade ground, forges, armory, ordnance depôt, magazine, and workshops of every kind.

The works were commenced about eighteen years ago, and are not yet quite completed. It is intended to mount 400 pieces of cannon here; and it would require, to garrison the place completely, 4,000 men; but at present there are not more than 20 guns mounted,

though there are many more in the fort. Of soldiers now here there are literally none, the only persons, these being the artificers, of whom we saw about fifty in the different workshops, making gun-carriages, and other requisites for the completion of the establishment. The cause of the entire absence of troops, as we were told by the superintendent of the works, was the constant drain of men from all the forts of the country for the Florida war, where the rifles and arrows of the Indians, and the swamps and marshes of the ever-glades, carry off more victims annually, than any war in which the United States has ever been engaged. Yet though every fort in the country is now weakened by drafts of men to go to Florida, and some of the forts, like this, are entirely stripped of their occupants, the Indian war seems, in the opinion of most persons, to be as far from its termination as ever.

Opposite to this fort, at a distance of less than a mile to the south, and almost in mid-channel of the entrance from the sea, stands an artificial island, made after the same process as that of the Breakwater at Plymouth in England. There existed there a bar, or shoal, called the Rip-Raps, with only fourteen feet water on it at high-tide, and being covered even at low-water, it proved a dangerous impediment to navigation. It was therefore determined to effect the double object of first covering the shoal with a mass of large stones, heaped on it, so as to rise above the water's edge, and thus present a visible object to ships sailing by it; and, secondly, to make this the basis of a fort, to strengthen the defences of the entrance. The only deep channel lies between Old

Point Comfort and the Rip-Raps, and as it is not more than a mile wide, all vessels passing in or out must go within half a mile at least of these forts, and be within pointblank range of their guns. The first of these objects is already accomplished, as the sandy shoal has been converted into an island of rocks rising at least twenty feet above high-water ; but the second object, of strongly fortifying it, remains yet to be achieved. The only difficulty in the way of this, is the appropriation of the necessary funds ; but this the Government is for the present unwilling to grant. The two works, at Old Point Comfort and the Rip-Raps have already cost about a million and half of dollars, and it would require perhaps another half million to make them complete. But instead of new appropriations for naval and military works, the Government is at this moment curtailing even the current and usual allowances.

During our short stay at Norfolk, no less than 400 workmen were discharged from the Navy Yard, and the works on which they were engaged were suspended, because the supplies of money were stopped from the Treasury. The number of the public defaulters, and the amount of their deficiencies to the Government, is urged as one reason for this straitened economy ; and certainly the official list that has been published of them, though thought to be far from complete, is a very fearful one, showing great want of common honesty among the public officers, and great want of vigilance and supervision in the heads of the public departments. As a matter of historical interest, the document may be here inserted—

Names of Defaulters.	Residence.	Amount of defalcation	Names of Defaulters.	Residence.	Amount of defalcation
		dollars.			dollars.
S. Swartwout ..	New York ..	1,225,765	W. P. Harris ..	Columbus ..	109,178
W. M. Price ..		75,000	Wm. Taylor ..	Cahawba ..	23,116
A. S. Thurston ..	Key West ..	2,822	U. G. Mitchell ..		54,626
Geo. W. Owen ..	Mobile ..	11,173	J. W. Stevenson ..	Galena ..	43,294
I. T. Canby ..	Crawfordville ..	39,013	L. Hawkins ..	Helena ..	100,000
A. McCarty ..	Indianapolis ..	1,388	S. W. Beall ..	Green Bay ..	10,620
W. L. D. Ewing ..	Vandalia ..	16,754	Jos. Friend ..	Washita ..	2,551
John Hays ..	Jackson ..	1,386	Wm. H. Allan ..	St. Augustine ..	1,997
W. M. Green ..	Palmyra ..	2,312	G. D. Boyd ..	Columbus ..	50,937
B. S. Chambers ..	Little Rock ..	2,142	R. H. Sterling ..	Cochuma ..	10,733
D. L. Tod ..	Opelousas ..	27,230	P. Childers ..	Greensbury ..	12,449
B. R. Rogers ..		6,624	Wm. Linn ..	Vandalia ..	55,962
M. Cannon ..	New Orleans ..	1,259	S. T. Scott ..	Jackson ..	12,550
A. W. M'Daniel ..	Washington ..	6,000	J. L. Daniel ..	Opelousas ..	7,280
John H. Owen ..	St. Stephen's ..	30,611	J. T. Pollock ..	Crawfordville ..	14,891
G. B. Crutcher ..	Choctaw ..	6,061	M. Neville ..	Cincinnati ..	13,781
G. B. Dameron ..		39,059	M. J. Allen ..	Tallahassee ..	26,691
S. W. Dickson ..		12,229	B. T. Brown ..	Springfield ..	3,600

Additions are said to have been discovered since this Official List was published, which make the amount of the whole deficiency, nearly three millions of dollars!

After our examination of the Fort, we dined at the hotel, where many persons had come down from Norfolk for the sole purpose of enjoying a fish-dinner, as Her Majesty's ministers in England have Cabinet parties to Greenwich, to eat white-bait. The two principal fish esteemed here, are the hog-fish, and the sheep's-head. The first is a small fish, six or eight inches long, two or three inches deep, and an inch in thickness, in shape and taste resembling the trout. The name of hog-fish is given to it, because of the grunting noise which it is alleged to make when taken out of the water. The second is much larger, being eighteen inches long, eight inches deep, and two inches in thickness. It is like the bream of the English channel in shape, but grey and speckled in colour, with large round transparent scales; in substance and flavour it equals the turbot,

and is superior to the cod. Oysters, of large size and excellent quality, are found all along the coast, and up the shores of the bay ; so that the lover of marine food may here enjoy this luxury in great abundance and at a cheap rate.

During our stay at Norfolk, we attended the Episcopal and the Presbyterian churches ; and observed the usual characteristics of American places of worship in each. The churches are neater in all their interior arrangements, better fitted and furnished, and far more comfortable, than the average condition of churches in England. All the aisles, as well as the pews, are carpeted as perfectly as any drawing-room ; the cushions, footstools, and every other auxiliary of comfort and ease, are in perfect repair ; the books nicely bound, and in the best condition ; while ample means exist for warming the interior in winter, and cooling it in summer. The music and singing is much superior to ours in general ; and the ear is never offended by those discordant sounds which are so often heard in the country churches and small dissenting chapels of England ; while the quiet decorum, deep attention, and almost universal practice of kneeling during the periods of prayer, certainly give an impression of more devout feeling, than the variety and carelessness of the attitudes too often observed in the English churches. There is another feature of our places of worship which is not seen here ; I mean, the number of poor persons for whom there are no pews provided, and who, by their dress and general appearance, remind you that they are the children of want—in the midst of the luxuries and superfluities of a land of opulence

and plenty. No such class is seen in American churches ; and from the general aspect of the congregation, you can hardly fail to be convinced that want of food, raiment, or comfortable dwellings, is unknown among them ; and that competency and comfort is the lot of nearly all. It is true that there is one blot, which, in every American church that I have yet visited, I could wish to see removed ; and that is, the practice of appropriating the side galleries exclusively to the use of the coloured people ; the central gallery being occupied by the organ and the choir. But it should not be forgotten, that while colour is the ground of separation from the rest of the congregation here, poverty is in England as frequent a ground of separation also ; for while the rich and the middle classes have their comfortable cushioned pews with lock and key, for their sole use, the poor have wooden benches marked “ free seats,” assigned to them in the cold stone-paved aisles, and are as much separated by their poverty from their richer fellow-sinners, as the coloured people are in America from their white brethren. For my own part, I think these distinctions equally inconsistent with the Christian maxim, that “ in the sight of God, all his creatures are equal ;” and that the open and unappropriated seats of the Catholic cathedral, the Methodist conventicle, and the Quaker’s meeting-house—like the unpewed equality of the Moham-medan mosque—are all preferable ; for if there be one place on earth in which, more than in another, man ought to be made to feel humility, and be taught to regard his brother as his equal, being children of one great Father, who is equally the



Creator and Preserver of all, it is a place of public worship, where "all that dwell upon the face of the earth" are equally invited to "come into the presence" of Him who is so truly designated as—

"Father of all! in every age,  
In every clime adored,  
By saint, by savage, and by sage,  
Jehovah, Jove, or Lord!"

and where, if any distinctions were observed, and the example and precepts of Jesus of Nazareth, were to be made the rule of guidance, "the poor and needy" ought have especial preference; for to them are the consolations of religion most necessary.

The transition from this subject, to that of the condition of the slaves here, is not so unnatural as it might at first seem. It is impossible, indeed, to think of religion, without being reminded, by the association of contrast, of the utter irreconcilability of slavery with the benevolence, purity, and equality of the Christian scheme of redemption. In justice to the Virginians generally, I must say, that among all the well-informed classes with whom we have mingled, and in Norfolk as much as anywhere, there is little or no hesitation on their part, in admitting slavery to be a double evil, equally injurious to the best interests of master and slave, and the chief, if not the only cause of the backwardness of this noble State, in the general career of improvement; while all speak of the slave-trade with horror, and express a desire to see it made piracy by all nations, and treated accordingly.

A recent occurrence has brought out the more free expression of public sentiment upon this subject

than usual. A Spanish planter went up from his estate in Cuba to the port of Havannah, to purchase goods and slaves. This he effected, and was proceeding homeward by sea in a vessel containing a valuable cargo, and fifty slaves purchased by him out of a slave-trader just arrived from Africa. On their voyage, the slaves sought an opportunity to regain their liberty, rose on their white oppressors, who were carrying them into forced captivity, and murdered all but three :—their purchaser or master, an old sea-captain, and a cabin-boy. The first they kept, with intention to set him at liberty ; the second they retained, to navigate the vessel ; and the third they spared, because of his youth and innocence. When they thus obtained the mastery of the vessel, they made the captain steer always towards the rising sun, as they knew that to be the direction of the land of their home, from whence they had been torn ; but when night came on, or when it was cloudy, the captain contrived, by imperceptible degrees, to veer the vessel's head round to the west by compass, of which the Africans knew nothing, always managing, however, about daylight to bring her head again round to the place of the sun's rising ; so that by this method, whatever progress they made eastward during the day, they retraced back again to the westward during night. Thus, for the amazingly long period of sixty-three days, they continued going to and fro, without falling in with any ship to board them ; the hope of meeting with which, was the chief inducement for the captain's steering her backward every night, and edging also constantly to the northward. At length, by the force of the Gulf

Stream, contrary winds, and counter-courses, she was driven on the coast of America, and after being seen and reported by different vessels as a very suspicious craft, she was captured by a Government Surveying vessel, the *Washington*, Captain Gedney, and taken in as prize to the port of New London, in Connecticut. The negroes were all apprehended, and confined in jail for trial.

This event gave rise to very opposite opinions, maintained by opposite parties. The Abolitionists contended that the slaves did only what was perfectly justifiable, in endeavouring to regain their liberty, even at the sacrifice of the lives of those who unjustly held them in bondage; and that as the crew of any American ship, captured in war, would be called heroes, if they rose on their English captors, massacred them, retook the vessel and regained their liberty, so was it commendable in these African negroes to do the same; they, therefore, considered them to be entitled to sympathy and support, rather than to punishment. The apologists of Slavery, contended, on the other hand, that the Africans, being lawfully purchased at Havannah, were the lawful property of their white masters; that the crime of rising against them, and killing them, to regain their liberty, was mutiny, piracy, and murder, and should be dealt with as such. In Norfolk, opinions seemed pretty nearly equally divided; though the actual Slaveholders, of which there are many here, were very tender and sensitive on the subject, and thought it best not to make it too much a matter of public discussion, lest it should become too familiar to their own slaves.

All, however, tried, if possible, to draw a clear distinction between slavery and the slave-trade ; and many, who saw nothing wrong in the former, affected to be greatly shocked at the latter. This, however, is to be understood with some limitation. The slave-trade at which they express so much horror, is that which consists in taking the Africans from their native country, and carrying them to the West Indies and South America for sale ; though it is known that large numbers are smuggled into the United States from Havannah, and through Texas ; and though it is certain, also, that were it not for slavery in this country and others, there would be no slave-trade, as the demand creates the supply. But to the slave-trade, which consists in buying up the African negroes of the central States, such as Maryland and Virginia, and selling them to slave-dealers from the South, to be taken to Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Arkansas, no such indignation is expressed.

This is practised largely here at Norfolk, without censure or reproach. In sight of French's hotel, in which we resided, and so near as to enable us to hear their occasional shoutings and cries, is a slave-depôt, in which the slave-dealers of the town, collect and confine such slaves as they can pick up by purchase, till they have got a gang sufficiently large to transport them to the South and the West. Here they are kept, with as little food and clothing as is compatible with bare existence : for, regarding them as articles of traffic, they spend no more upon them than will suffice to keep them alive, and in travelling condition. They send them off as speedily as practicable, in travelling gangs to the South, each party being attended

with a competent number of drivers, who ride on horseback, with large whips, while the negroes, men, women, and children, all travel on foot, the more refractory or suspicious being chained to each other, and the more weary kept in their line of march by the whip, if they fall behind. In the purchases of slaves, made for the purpose of forming these gangs for the Southern market, husband is separated from wife, and children from parents, without the slightest compunction, and the whole process is brutal in the extreme.

If any of these unhappy beings were to revolt, and endeavour to regain their liberty, they would be shot dead on the spot, or reserved for more ignominious punishment; and yet, if white American prisoners, taken in war, were to break from an English prison, murder their jailors, and escape in safety to their liberty and friends, they would be honoured and applauded throughout the land! The Americans complain, and justly, of the detestable practice of impressment of seamen for the British navy; but they pursue an equally unjust course towards the African race in their own country, and affect to see nothing wrong in it; so completely does pecuniary interest and national prejudice, added to the force of custom, reconcile men to the worst abominations.

Here, as everywhere else in the South, the negroes are all obliged to be in their houses at a given hour, eight in the winter and nine in the summer; and a warning bell is rung every night at those periods. Should any person of colour be found in the streets after this time, by the night-watch, they are taken to prison, and there kept for the night, and then

discharged. For the second offence, however, they are whipped, as well as imprisoned, unless their masters will pay a fine of a dollar to save them from its infliction, which is not often done.

The society of Norfolk is characterized by more of leisure, frankness, refinement of manners, and less of nationality, than that of the Northern cities. The number of persons in easy circumstances, living on fixed incomes, arising from landed property rather than trade, is considerable. The public officers of the government, attached to the naval and military department, are also numerous, and the professions of the law, medicine, and the church, furnish their full proportion ; while the merchants and traders are not so entirely engrossed with the accumulation of money, as to have no time for other thoughts. The tone of conversation among the men is, therefore, more elevated, and their manners more gentlemanly, than those of the mercantile society generally of the North. Among the ladies, we saw many very beautiful women, and exquisitely lovely youths ; and while the same superiority of manners is observable in the females as in the males—arising no doubt from the same causes—the lives they lead are less hurried and excited, either by business or pleasure, than in the North, and there is more leisure for cultivation and polish. As there are few large fortunes rapidly acquired here, there is no absurd competition for display, or straining everything to the utmost in dress and parties, to outrival each other. Society not being cut up into sets, and castes, and circles, as in Boston and New York, there is no jealousy about particular grades, or coldness with some and cor-

diality with others. All appear to feel themselves sufficiently on a footing of social equality, to be frank, open, cheerful, and unaffected in their behaviour and intercourse with each other. Norfolk, I should think, resembles much more the old Colonial state of society, in feelings and manners, than any place in the North, and may fairly rank with Charleston and Savannah, which resemble it in this respect.

In the neighbourhood of Norfolk, and lying south of it and Portsmouth, at a distance of eight miles, is an extensive marsh, called by the forbidding name of The Dismal Swamp, a name, however, rendered familiar to English readers, by the beautiful ballad of Thomas Moore, written during his visit to Norfolk, some forty years ago, and published among his earliest Odes and Epistles, from Bermuda and America. The principal trees that are found in this swamp are cypress and juniper; these grow in the parts that are muddiest, and where the decayed vegetation and water are the deepest. The greater part of the swamp is covered, however, with impenetrable thickets of reeds, grass, and bushes; and here and there, on the drier spots, are to be found a few oaks, pines, and gum trees. At the northern extremity of this swamp is a small village, called Deep Creek, made and sustained wholly by the trade carried on across the Swamp by means of a canal. This has recently been carried across it, and by it a constant intercourse is now maintained between Norfolk and Wilmington, in North Carolina; and goods and passengers are transported, by this route, from Baltimore and Richmond to Charleston and Savannah.

The soft and yielding mass of decayed vegetable matter, with which this Dismal Swamp is chiefly covered, is called by the people living near it, Sponge, and it is sometimes found to be as much as twenty feet deep. In it and beneath it are found large quantities of old juniper-trees, deeply imbedded, with newer or more recent trees of the same species growing over them; and the wood of both is found to be equally fresh and good for the shingles made of them. On the borders of Deep Creek is a salt marsh, where large solid pine trees have been found still erect under water, which is the more remarkable as the pine does not grow generally in salt marshes, but delights in a dry and sandy soil. It is said that in Albemarle Sound, further south, many trees of the same kind are found below the present level of the ocean.

It is said that during the war of the Revolution, a French vessel, assisting the cause of the Americans, was pursued into this creek by an English ship of war; and the action proving the superior skill or force of the assailant, the French crew determined to sink their vessel and abandon her. Before they did this, however, they collected all the specie in their ship, and charged one of their guns with it, which they then threw overboard, to prevent its falling into the hands of the English. A large portion of the wreck of the French vessel remains, to impede the navigation of the creek, and thus to confirm the main fact of the history; but though many attempts have been made to recover the lost cannon with its charge of specie, they have hitherto been without success.



## CHAP. XXIII.

History of Virginia—Voyage projected by Sir Walter Raleigh in Elizabeth's reign—First settlement near Roanoak—Country called Virginia by desire of Elizabeth—First introduction of tobacco—Raleigh and the Queen smokers—The potato first brought from America—Grant of James I. for Christianizing Virginia—Voyage of Captain Smith—Settlement of James Town—Capture of Smith by the Indians—Sentenced to death—Reprieve obtained by the influence of the Mariner's compass—Smith condemned a second time to death by Powhatan—Romantic interference to save his life by the princess Pocahontas—History of the Indian heroine, Pocahontas—Presentation at the English court—Her death in England—Interment at Gravesend.

HAVING now traversed the greater part of the noble State of Virginia, and examined the Old Dominion through the length and breadth of the land, it may be useful to cast a retrospective glance over the rise and progress of this earliest portion of the British colonies on this extensive continent, before giving a general view of its present extent in area, productions, resources, wealth, and population.

It was by the enterprise of the Venetian navigator, Sebastian Cabot, under the patronage of Henry the Seventh of England, that the continent of North America was first discovered—the voyage of Columbus, a few years before, having brought him acquainted only with the islands of the West Indies. This was in 1498, the year in which the first British ship that ever reached the coast of this continent, sailed from Bristol; and it is remarkable, that the first vessel sent to navigate to this country

across the Atlantic by steam, the Great Western, 340 years afterwards, should sail from the same port of Bristol, leaving both London and Liverpool in the rear. It has been remarked by Grahame, in his excellent History, that in the first expeditions of navigators from Europe to the New World, the enterprising men who conducted them were all foreigners to the States deriving the honour and benefit of their discoveries. Columbus, a Genoese, sailed for the crown of Spain ; Cabot, a Venetian, for the crown of England ; and Verazzan, a Florentine, for the crown of France.

It was not, however, till the reign of Elizabeth, nearly a century after Cabot's discovery, or in 1578, that any attempt was made by the English to form a permanent settlement on this coast ; and the person who first projected such settlement was the illustrious navigator, Sir Walter Raleigh, who obtained for his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a patent from the queen, authorizing him to explore and occupy, or appropriate, all barbarous lands which he might find unoccupied by Christian powers, and hold them as fiefs of the crown, on condition of his paying, as revenue, one-fifth of all gold and silver found therein. It empowered Gilbert to exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction over those who might accompany him, and made the term of the patent six years, prohibiting all persons, during that time, from occupying any land within 200 leagues of any spot discovered and appropriated by him.

Such was the beginning of the British attempts to settle on this continent : but the first voyage was unsuccessful ; the ships sailing too far to the north,

were wrecked near Cape Breton, and Gilbert himself was drowned. Raleigh, who did not accompany this first expedition, soon projected another; and having now the patent, previously bestowed on Gilbert, transferred to himself by the queen, with whom he was a personal favourite, he despatched two small vessels, commanded by Amadas and Barlow, who made the coast farther south, and first anchored in Roanoak bay, now a part of North Carolina. Their first intercourse with the native Indians was characterized by courtesy and mildness, and no difficulties occurred between them; and when, on their return, they published an account of the fine climate and fertile soil of the country, the Queen was so pleased with the discovery, that she herself proposed to have the country called "Virginia," as at once in memorial of her virgin-reign, in which it was first visited, and also a public proclamation to the world of her intention to take it under her especial patronage and protection; though the Virginians, in after times, used to say it was so called "because it still seemed to retain the virgin purity and plenty of the first creation."

In 1585, the first actual Colony was formed by the landing of 108 workmen at Roanoak, brought out in seven ships, under the command of Sir Richard Grenville. They were left here under the command of Captain Lane, assisted by Amadas, one of the commanders on a former voyage, and Heriot, a mathematician and astronomer, who excited the admiration of the natives by his telescopes and other instruments; but unfortunately, the thirst for gold was so intense, that in pursuit of it they neglected all other

objects, consumed their provisions, quarrelled with the Indians, and were reduced to the last extremity, when Sir Francis Drake touched at the Colony from the West Indies, took them all on board, and conveyed them back to England.

It was by the remnant of this abortive Colony, that tobacco was first introduced into England. The plant was in great repute among the Indian tribes as medicine; and some of them believed it to be inhabited by one of those invisible spirits, which they supposed to dwell in all the powerful and remarkable products of Nature. Captain Lane and some of his associates had learnt the art of smoking it, and taught this to others; and Sir Walter Raleigh proved himself to be not only an adept pupil, but an excellent teacher; for it is stated, on the authority of the historian, Stith, that Queen Elizabeth herself had learnt the practice of smoking tobacco from Raleigh, and enjoyed it! The following anecdote is told by him of the Queen and her favourite. One day, as she was partaking this new indulgence, Sir Walter laid the Queen a wager that he could ascertain the weight of the smoke, which in a given time would be puffed out from the royal lips; and the Queen deeming this impossible, accepted the wager. When she first filled her pipe, Raleigh weighed the tobacco; and when she had finished it, he weighed the ashes that remained; and the difference he assumed as the weight of the smoke that had escaped. The Queen admitted that he had won the wager; but added, "that she thought he was the only alchymist who had ever yet transmuted smoke into gold."

The next expedition was sent out in 1587, when

a charter of incorporation was given to Captain White and twelve assistants, to found the city of Raleigh in Virginia ; but the only issue of this voyage was some better acquaintance with the country and people, and the introduction, for the first time, of the potato root and plant into England—as great an accession of good to the European community, as the importation of tobacco has proved an evil.

This was the last of the expeditions despatched by Raleigh, who, becoming engrossed with other objects, connected with Ireland, Portugal, and Guiana, transferred his interest in the American settlement to a London Company of Merchants ; but these conducted their affairs so badly, that at the period of Queen Elizabeth's death, not a single Englishman was known to be anywhere settled in America ; and for a while all hopes of colonization in this quarter seemed to be extinct.

At length, in 1603, James the First ascended the English throne, and the voyages of Gosnold to the northern shores of Massachusetts having revived attention to Virginia, the King was induced to grant a patent to Sir Thomas Gates, Lord Somers, Richard Hakluyt, and others, authorizing them to take and hold all the lands lying between the 34th and 45th degrees of latitude, with all islands lying within 100 miles of the shore—including all the coast from Virginia up to Maine, embracing also all the new Western States, within this parallel, and comprehending, indeed, an area equal to four-fifths of the whole of the present Union. The object of granting this patent was no doubt to enrich the patentees and their friends, and extend the power and resources of the King.

But, as real motives are rarely avowed in political instruments, the pretence set forth in this case was a desire "to make habitation and plantation, and to deduce a Colony of sundry of our people into that part of America commonly called Virginia, that so noble a work may, by the providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the glory of his Divine Majesty, in the propagation of the Christian religion, to such people as yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God, and may in time bring the infidels and savages living in those parts, to human civility, and to a settled and quiet government."

The occupation of the territory was assigned to two separate companies; the southern portion being given to the London Company, including the coast from the Capes of Virginia to the present site of New York; and the northern portion, comprehending all beyond this, being assigned to the Plymouth and Bristol Company. They were authorized to transport as many English subjects as they saw fit, to their new settlements, to furnish them with arms and ammunition, and to guarantee them exemption from all custom-house dues for seven years, with a retention of all the rights and privileges they enjoyed in England.

The first body of colonists embarked by the London Company sailed from England in three small vessels, the largest of which did not exceed 100 tons; and in these were embarked, besides the crews, 105 men destined to remain in America. The command devolved on Captain Newport, and among his passengers were George Percy, brother of the

Earl of Northumberland, Gosnold the navigator, and the intrepid Captain John Smith. They sailed from England in December 1606, and did not reach the Chesapeake till April 1607, as long a period as is now taken to sail from London to China. They named the southern promontory of the Chesapeake, Cape Henry, in honour of the then Prince of Wales; and the northern, Cape Charles, after another of the King's sons; and sailing up the river, then called Powhatan, they were so impressed with its excellence as a stream, and the eligibility of its banks for a settlement, that they gave the river the name of their monarch, instead of that of the Indian chief or king, which it then bore, and founded their infant settlement about forty miles from its mouth, calling it also James-Town.

It is not intended to follow up the history of this settlement in detail, or narrate the romantic adventures of Captain John Smith, tempting as the subject is, but rather to trace the broad outlines of the rise and progress of Virginia generally. It will be sufficient, therefore, to state that Smith, by his superior talents, courage, and other qualities which fitted him admirably for the post of a leader, soon obtained that distinction by consent of his companions, though they were at first jealous of his abilities. He was of a respectable family in Lincolnshire, and born to a competent fortune, but had served in the army; and being of an enterprising disposition, had embarked in this adventure with great zeal. He speedily fortified James-Town; and by his kind conduct to such of the Indians, as were friendly, and his prompt retribution on those who were hostile, he

soon acquired a great reputation and influence. There is one romantic incident, however, so remarkable in the career of this truly great man, that it cannot with propriety be omitted.

In the course of an excursion, made for the purpose of surveying the interior of the country, he fell into the hands of a hostile tribe of Indians, but having resisted them by arms, though unsuccessfully, he was about, after his capture, to be put to death. With great presence of mind, he expressed a desire to speak to the sachem or chief, before his life was taken, which request was granted to him; and he then showed the astonished Indians a mariner's compass, of which he described the properties and use, and related how many new countries had been discovered by its instrumentality; as well as the form of the earth, its motion round its own axis, and its revolutions round the sun; the position of the antipodes, and the cause of summer and winter. To all, they, the Indians, listened with wonder and delight; and the fact that they could see the tremulations of the needle, while in every attempt to touch it, they found the hand arrested by the transparent glass, a substance they had never before seen, gave them an idea of its being something superhuman!

For a while, therefore, they remained in doubt and suspense, whether they should put their prisoner to death, or not; but, at length, their attachment to their old customs prevailing, he was bound to a stake, to be shot through with arrows, in the ordinary way. The chief, however, Opechancanough, had been more deeply impressed than his colleagues with the superiority of Smith above the com-



mon race of mortals ; and being either ashamed or afraid to put him to death, he held up the mariner's compass to his people, and ordered his reprieve ; after which he was conducted, still as a prisoner, surrounded with guards, to a dwelling, and there hospitably entertained. The Indians then attempted to prevail on Smith to betray the English settlement into their hands ; but his virtue remaining firm amidst all his dangers, his case was referred to the Indian king, Powhatān, before whom he was led with much ceremony ; but here, after a sumptuous repast, according to their rude fashion, had been set before him, he was adjudged by Powhatān to be put to death ; and the mode determined on was, to beat out his brains by their war-clubs, while his head was laid on a stone. At this fearful crisis, the Angel of Mercy again overshadowed him with her wings ; for the favourite, and, from all contemporary accounts, superior-minded daughter of the king, Pocahontas, ventured to intercede with her father for his life ; but her entreaties failing to soften their stern and cruel purpose, she threw her arms around the body of the victim, and standing between him and his executioners, declared her determination either to save him, or to perish in the attempt ! The Indians, who have a great admiration for courage and heroism in either sex, spared their captive for Pocahontas' sake ; and he was not only released, but sent back in safety to James-Town, where his beneficent deliverer sent to him those supplies of provisions, of which the little Colony stood so much in need.

Soon after this, a reinforcement of 120 men from England, with provisions, seeds, and implements of

husbandry, arrived, to join the settlement; but among them were so few labourers, and so many gentlemen, and jewellers, and refiners of gold, all adventurers in search of the precious metal, which they hoped to find as abundant here as in Mexico or Peru, that they were of little value; and the discovery of a shining sandy sediment, found in the James-river waters, fostered their delusion, and indisposed every one to agriculture or the industrial arts. A cargo of this sand, or dust, which was ultimately proved to be of no value, with some cedar-wood from the neighbouring forests, formed the first cargo ever sent from Virginia to England; and in return, by the same ships, were sent out a supply of various officers, as if the little Colony were to become at once a great kingdom, among which were admirals, recorders, judges, and chronologers! for whom there was no suitable employment.

In the mean while, Smith undertook to explore the Bay of the Chesapeake,—whose Indian name, “The Mother of Waters,” is beautifully expressive of the number of rivers that are poured into its bosom,—and passing up the York, the Rappahannock, the Potomac, and even the Susquehannah, he surveyed a great extent of country, and made a map of the whole, so minutely accurate, that all authorities admit it to have required scarcely any alteration or improvement, except by the addition of such places as have been subsequently visited, but were not then known.

On the return of Smith to the Colony, he found it in a wretched condition; but being elected president of the council, by the settlers, whose confidence in

him was unbounded, he soon succeeded, by the admirable talents which he possessed for government, in restoring plenty, order, industry, and content, in the midst of difficulties which would have broken the spirits and destroyed the faculties of any ordinary man. A strong sense of religion pervaded his character, and governed his conduct throughout; and it was remarked of him, as it had before been said of Columbus, that though accustomed to naval and military life, and surrounded by dissolute and licentious men, he had never been known to utter an oath.

The directors of the Virginia Company at home, however, not realizing those absurd dreams of golden treasures, which they expected to receive by every ship from hence, formed themselves into a new association, by the title of "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers of the City of London, for the first Colony in Virginia," and obtaining new associates among persons of high rank and wealth, and being incorporated by a new charter, they sent out, in 1609, a squadron of nine ships and 500 emigrants. In one of these was Lord Delaware, the new governor and captain-general of the Colony, with Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Simons, all entrusted with large and co-equal powers. This ship, containing the chief functionaries, was wrecked on the island of Bermuda, but the remainder of the squadron reached James-Town in safety. Among the emigrants, however, were so few men of industrious habits, and so many of indolent and profligate character, broken-down gentlemen, insolvent traders, licentious youths, and corrupt and hoary villains, that their influx was

the greatest curse to the infant settlement, and threw everything into confusion.

Smith, however, again assumed the command, and was proceeding with those vigorous measures necessary for the order and peace of the Colony, when an unfortunate accident occurred, which nearly deprived him of his life. A bag of gunpowder, which he carried with him for his ammunition, exploded while he was asleep, and “tore the flesh from his body and thighs in a horrible manner.” The pain was so acute, that he threw himself into the river to cool the burning sensation, and was near drowning before he could be recovered: yet he had to go nearly a hundred miles in this situation, before he could reach a surgeon, or have any soothing application applied to his wound. In the midst of all this suffering, he had the additional mortification to find, on his reaching James-Town, an attempt to usurp his authority, and a plot to destroy his life. But his energies never failed him, and he defeated both, by his courage and promptitude.

At length, however, the pain of his wound depriving him sometimes of his reason, and no surgical skill in the Colony being sufficient to effect his cure, he resolved to go to England, and resigned his Presidency to Mr. Percy. The testimony paid to his virtues by those who were the companions of his misfortunes, is couched in this emphatic language—“What shall we say of him, but this:—that in all his proceedings made justice his first guide, and experience his second—ever hating baseness, sloth, pride, and indignity, more than any danger;—that never allowed more for himself than his soldiers with

him ;—that upon no danger would send them, where he would not lead them himself ;—that would never see us want what he either had, or could by any means get us ;—that would rather want than borrow, or starve than not pay ;—that loved action more than words, and hated falsehood and covetousness worse than death.”

The interesting heroine, Pocahontas, it appears, never came to James-Town after Smith's departure, but she was subsequently entrapped by treachery into the hands of an English captain, named Argal, and kept on board his ship as a hostage, to prevent the hostility of her father Powhatān. This was in 1611, and after a series of negotiations for her ransom, she had in the interim formed an attachment to a young Englishman, named John Rolfe, with whom, by consent of her father and brothers, as well as of the governor of the settlement at James-Town, Sir Thomas Dale, she was legally united in marriage, in April, 1613, according to the English form.

The remainder of her short history is as romantic as its commencement. When Sir Thomas Dale returned to England, the young Pocahontas accompanied her husband to his native land, and arrived at Plymouth in June 1616. Being a king's daughter, she was called The Lady Rebecca, was introduced at court by Lord and Lady Delaware, and treated with the greatest distinction. Captain Smith, whose life she had saved, having recovered from his wound, was still living, and the meeting of Pocahontas with her former friend was remarkable. She called him her Father ; which Smith, under a notion that it might be thought arrogant in him to permit

himself to be called by so endearing a title by a King's daughter, requested her not to do ; and Pocahontas, not being able to comprehend the meaning of this scruple, was at first unhappy at what she interpreted as coldness. Her address to him, which is preserved, is full of the naïveté and frankness of her noble character.

“ You promised my father,” said Pocahontas, “ that what was yours should be his : and that you and he would be all as one. Being a stranger in our country, you called Powhatan ‘ Father ;’ and I, for the same reason, will call you so. You were not afraid to come into my father’s country, and strike fear into every body but myself ; and are you here afraid to let me call you ‘ Father ?’ I tell you, then, I will call you ‘ Father,’ and you shall call me ‘ Child ;’ and so I will for ever be of your kindred and country. They always told us that you were dead, and I knew not otherwise till I came to Plymouth. But Powhatan commanded Tomocomo to seek you out, and know the truth, because your countrymen are much given to lying.” \*

In 1617, she was about to embark for her native country, but was taken ill at Gravesend, and there died, at the early age of twenty-two years. There is neither grave nor tablet, I believe, now remaining to mark the spot where her remains were deposited ; but her blood nevertheless continues to flow in the veins of some existing American families, who are very proud of their descent. She left a son, then of course very young, named Thomas Rolfe, who was educated by his uncle in London, but afterwards came to America, where he acquired an ample fortune ; he left an only daughter, who was married to Colonel Bolling, and left an only son ; but the son had several daughters, and one of these marrying Colonel

\* Drake’s Book of the Indians, 8vo. b. iv. 18.

Randolph, gave birth to the celebrated Virginian senator, John Randolph of Roanoke, who, with all the other Randolphs of Virginia, was as proud of his ancestry, as any peer of England who could trace his descent from some Norman baron brought over in the train of William the Conqueror.

The pride of ancestry, from an Indian stock, is much stronger in the few Americans who have so descended, than it appears to be in any possessing unmixed European blood, as far as my opportunities have brought me acquainted with either. This is the more remarkable, when it is contrasted with the cruel treatment which the Indians have generally received from the American nation and people; and still more remarkable when we consider that there is nothing so repulsive to American feeling, as an intermarriage with persons having the least taint of colour from an African stock. The celebrated Dr. Hawkes, one of the leading Episcopal clergymen of New York, who would have shrunk with horror at the imputation of having any "coloured blood" of the *black* race mingled with his own, expressed his pride of ancestry, and descent from the *red* race, by boasting that some of the blood of Pocahontas flowed in his veins.\*

\* See "America." First Series. Vol. i. p. 92.

## CHAP. XXIV.

First representative assembly at James Town—First introduction of Negro Slavery into the Colony—First supply of English wives sent out to the Colony—Paid for in tobacco—First provision for the education of Colonial offspring—Cromwell's Commonwealth—Navigation Laws—Contrast between New England and Virginia—Sir William Berkeley—Destruction of James Town—Profligacy of Lord Effingham—Earl of Orkney—Queen Anne—First theatre, printing-press, and newspaper—First appearance of George Washington in public life—Disputes with the mother-country on the right of taxation—Revolution. 1765—Virginian orator, Patrick Henry—Declaration of Rights—Lord Dunmore—Accomplishment of Independence by the American Colonies—Progress of the State of Virginia since that period.

AFTER Smith had quitted the Colony at James Town, in 1609, a series of disasters occurred, which led to its ultimate abandonment; but Lord Delaware and his companions, who, though wrecked on the island of Bermuda, were not lost, having procured another ship, and added two others to their squadron, came, in 1610, with supplies of men, provisions, and implements; and meeting the fugitives at the mouth of the James-river on their way out to sea, they arrested their progress, and restored the settlement to a habitable condition. But neither his administration, nor those of his successors, did much for the Colony until 1613, when the right of private property in lands being admitted, instead of the sole proprietorship of the incorporated Company in England, which had hitherto preceded it, a new stimulus to industry was given, and the Colony began to improve. The atten-



tion of the cultivators was first directed to what they deemed the most profitable and immediate return ; and this was not provisions for subsistence, but tobacco for sale ; for the use of this vile weed had so extended itself in Europe, and especially in England, that the demand for it was excessive ; and to supply this demand, the whole of the surrounding lands, as well as the public squares, and even the public streets of James Town, were planted with it in 1615 : while, to obtain the supplies of provisions which they had neglected to raise for their own consumption, the planters made reprisals on the natives, and thus provoked their hostility ; so that there was a constant succession of difficulties.

It was in 1619, that the first foundation of Virginian liberty was laid, by the introduction, under the administration of Sir John Yeardly, of a representative assembly, which was convened at James-Town, and was composed of the burgesses elected by the settlers, who met the governor and his council, in the same apartment, and there discussed together, in great harmony, the first acts of an American legislature, which were subsequently sent home, and received the sanction of the authorities there. It was further agreed by the respective parties, that no laws passed in the Colony should be in full force until ratified at home, and no orders or enactments made in England should have the force of law in the Colony till they were ratified by the assembly there. " Thus early," says Grahame, " was planted in America, that representative system, which forms the soundest political frame wherein the spirit of liberty was ever embodied, and at once the safest and most efficient organ by

which its energies are exercised and developed. So strongly imbued were the minds of Englishmen in this age with those generous principles which were rapidly advancing to a first manhood in their native country, that wherever they settled themselves, the institutions of freedom took root and grew up along with them."

In the same year, however—so closely are good and evil blended in the mingled web of life—the fatal seeds were sown of that, which constitutes at once the greatest blot on the reputation, and the greatest hinderance to the safety and prosperity, of America: namely, Negro Slavery. A Dutch ship, from the coast of Guinea, arrived in James-river, with a cargo of negro slaves. These were sold to the English planters for the cultivation of their lands; and found to be so much more steady, obedient, industrious, and profitable, as labourers, than the idle and dissolute criminals, which had been sent out from the jails of England, as servants to the planters for limited terms, that the importation of slaves from Africa became a regular traffic. To England, therefore, belongs the disgrace of first originating the slave-trade, by Sir John Hawkins, in Elizabeth's reign; and to Englishmen, the disgrace of first employing them in Virginia in the reign of James. But let it be added—for justice demands the addition—that to America belongs the disgrace of retaining the African race in bondage, after England has broken their chains throughout all her extensive dominions; and this, when it would have been so safe, so easy, so consistent, and so honourable, for the first signers of the Declaration of

Independence, while freeing themselves from the tyranny of their other country, to have given freedom to the Africans in their own. It was thus they should have proved the sincerity with which they asserted their belief, that "all men were born free and equal;" and that "to all belonged the inalienable right of life, liberty, and property," instead of "turning into a scene of bondage for others, that territory which had proved a seat of liberty and happiness to themselves."

In the year 1620, the difficulty seems first to have been publicly avowed, though perhaps long before felt, of attaching the men as permanent settlers to the colony, without an adequate supply of women, to furnish the comforts of domestic life; and to overcome this difficulty, "a hundred young women, of agreeable persons and respectable characters," were selected in England, and sent out, at the expense of the Company, as wives for the settlers. They were very speedily appropriated by the young men of the Colony, who paid for the privilege of choice considerable sums as purchase money, which went to replenish the treasury of the Company, from whence the cost of their outfit and passage had been defrayed. This speculation proved so advantageous to that body, in a pecuniary sense, that it was soon followed up by sending out sixty more, for whom larger prices were paid than for the first consignment; the amount paid on the average for the first 100 being 120 lbs. of tobacco, then valued at 3s. per lb.; and for the second supply of 60, the average price paid was 150 lbs. of tobacco, this being the legal currency of the Colony, and the standard of value by which all contracts, salaries,

and prices were paid. This accession to the Colony was productive of the greatest advantage, as substituting the lawful and honourable enjoyments of marriage, and the holy and chaste feeling of connubial affection, for the lawless licentiousness, and dissolute and unbridled passion which preceded it ; and Burk, the historian of Virginia, says, that such was the careful attention bestowed on the moral characters of those who were sent out to become the matrons of Virginia, that in the year 1632, two young women, having been seduced on their passage from England, were sent back, by an order of the provisional council, as “unworthy to propagate the race of Virginians.” Another excellent result followed this practice, of sending out from home those who were to become the mothers of the future colonists, which was the making some provision for the education of their offspring. For this purpose, a sum of money was collected by the bishops in their respective dioceses, by order of the King, for the education of the colonial children ; and the Company aiding this benevolent project, began the foundation of the first Colonial college, which was not completed till the reign of William and Mary, by whose name it was called, and which it retains, all royal as it is, to this day. So also do Cape Henry, Cape Charles, James-River, James-Town, Williamsburgh, York River, Norfolk, and Richmond, all of which are of royal origin, but all of which are still retained as “The Old Dominion” has always cherished her British origin with more pride, and still clings to its recollection with greater fondness, than any other State of the Union to the present day.

Disputes between the King and the Colonists, on the subject of the trade in tobacco, its import duties, &c., soon arose, and in 1621, were at their height, but were happily adjusted by a compromise ; until, in the following year, a new source of grievance and of danger was disclosed. The native Indians, after the alliance formed by the marriage of the young princess, Pocahontas, with Rolfe, were anxious to promote more such unions between the English and their daughters. But the fairer daughters of the mother-country had lessened the necessity, and abated the inclination, of the Englishmen, to seek wives among the red tribes of the forest. This was deemed an insult or disdain by the Indians, who treasured up the affront for resentment at the fitting time ; and they ultimately formed a conspiracy to cut off all the English, by a general massacre of man, woman, and child.

Powhatan, the father of Pocahontas, and their former friend, was no more ; and his place and power, were held by Opekankanough. The plot being matured, on the 22nd of March, 1622, at “mid-day, the period they had fixed for this execrable deed, the Indians, raising a universal yell, rushed at once on the English, in all their scattered settlements, and butchered men, women, and children, with indiscriminating fury, and every aggravation of brutal outrage and enormous cruelty. In one hour 347 persons were cut off, without knowing almost by whose hands they fell.” Six of the members of council, and several of the wealthiest and most respectable of the inhabitants were among the slain : at some of the settlements, the whole of their popu-

lation had been exterminated ; at others, a remnant had escaped the general destruction, by the efforts of despair ; and the survivors were impoverished, terrified, and confounded, by a stroke that at once bereaved them of friends and fortune, and showed that they were surrounded by legions of foes, whose enmity was equally furious and unaccountable, and whose treachery and ferocity seemed to proclaim them a race of fiends rather than men.

After this fearful catastrophe, the dissensions between the members of the Company at home, and their quarrels with the King, led him at length to take the bold step of dissolving the Company itself, by abrogating its charter ; and thus, in 1624, the possession of the Colony, and the direction of its government, was assumed by the crown. James soon after died, but his son, Charles the First, adopted all his father's views with respect to Virginia, and his arbitrary principles were acted upon to the full extent by the Governor, Sir John Harvey, who, from 1629 to 1635, exercised a continued series of insults, exactions, and oppressions on the colonists, till "he inflamed the wise with madness, and drove the patient to despair," when at length, he was suspended by the Colonial assembly, and sent home a prisoner to England, accompanied by deputies from their body to represent their grievances, and appealing to the justice of the King for redress. But this arbitrary monarch reinstated the suspended governor with additional powers, and these powers he soon used on his return, to retaliate on those who had the courage to oppose him.

In 1639, by the influence of the British parlia-

ment, to whom the Virginians had now appealed, Harvey was recalled ; and the upright and excellent Sir William Berkeley appointed in his stead, with power to restore to the colonists all the privileges they had enjoyed before the dissolution of the Company by the crown ;—so that Charles the First was compelled to become the restorer of those Virginian liberties which he had been the first to violate. So grateful were the Virginians for this, that in all the contests between the King and the parliament at home, they espoused the royal cause, declaring, by an enactment, issued in the fervour of their loyalty, “ that they were born under a monarchy, and would never degenerate from the condition of their births, by being subject to any other government,” a resolution to which their posterity have not deemed it wise to adhere. Even after Charles was beheaded, and his son driven out of the kingdom, they conducted the Colonial government under a commission from the exiled royal family, dispatched to Sir William Berkeley from Breda, on the continent ; and would not acknowledge the authority of the republic, or commonwealth.

The long parliament, however, sent a squadron under Sir George Ayseue, to the Chesapeake, and the Virginians were obliged to yield, but not without stipulating for the retention of their own provisional assembly, and the privilege of perfect freedom of trade.

It was at this period, 1652, that the Navigation Laws were introduced, forbidding the importation of any productions of Asia, Africa, or America, in any but English vessels, navigated by English offi-

cers and crews; though the same principle was recognized as early as 1381, when an act of Richard the Second, enacted "that to increase the navy of England, no goods or merchandizes shall be either exported or imported but only in ships belonging to the king's subjects." Yet, as this was in some degree an infringement on the stipulated free trade of the Virginians, they had the monopoly of the growth of tobacco confirmed to them, by its cultivation being prohibited in Ireland, where large quantities had heretofore been grown. About this period Virginia became the place of refuge for immense numbers of destitute cavaliers, who, following the fortunes of their sovereign, had been forced into poverty and exile; and though this brought a large infusion of chivalrous sentiment, high breeding, and polished manners into the Colony—the traces of which are visible in the well-known spirit, frankness, and generosity of the old Virginia families at the present day—yet little or no industry, or useful and practical knowledge, accompanied their train, while, on the other hand, dissolute manners and intrigues were very general.

Cromwell's measures towards the Colony appear, from all authorities, to have been far more just and liberal than those of his predecessors: but with the previous attachments and pledges of the old settlers, and the opinions and feelings brought into the Colony by the new ones, it was natural that they should be averse to his usurped authority, and there was one feature of his administration which was peculiarly offensive to them—

"The Puritan colonists of New England," says Grahame, "had



always been the objects of suspicion and dislike to the great bulk of the inhabitants of Virginia : and the manifest partiality which Cromwell entertained for them, now increased the aversion with which they had been heretofore regarded. New England was generally considered by the Cavaliers, as the centre and focus of Puritan sentiment and republican principle ; and, actuated partly by religious and partly by political feelings, the Virginian Cavaliers entertained a violent antipathy against all the doctrines, sentiments, and practices that were reckoned peculiar to the Puritans, and rejected all communication of the knowledge that flourished in New England, from hatred of the authority under whose shelter it grew, and of the principles to whose support it seemed to administer."

The traces of this feeling are still strong among the descendants of these Cavaliers ; for in no State of the Union is the dislike to the Puritanical sentiments and cold and cautious manners of the people of the North, stronger than it is in Virginia ; where, I believe, there are fewer persons from New England settled, than there are in any State besides. The hereditary indifference to, and disregard of popular education for the mass of the community, which characterized the best men of those times, seems also to have travelled down, through Virginian veins, to the present day. Sir William Berkeley, one of the most justly popular of their governors, for his general integrity and highly honourable character, says, according to Chalmer's, in a letter written by him in the State of Virginia, soon after the Restoration—  
" I thank God there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years ; for learning has brought heresy, and disobedience, and sects into the world ; and printing has

divulged them, and libels against the best government—God keep us from both.”

In one respect, Sir William's prayer seems to have been realized; for to this day, no system of Common Schools, such as exist in New England and many of the Western States, exists in Virginia; though there are some free-schools for the education of indigent children spread over the State. But in this respect it is avowedly inferior to all the older States of the Union, and to many even of the new ones; and a Virginian writer, Martin, in speaking of the capital of his own State, says, “Whilst the Northern cities can boast their literary and scientific societies, the capital of “The Ancient Dominion,” scarcely contains one which deserves the name.” As to printing, and libels against the government, these have indeed increased to such a degree, that if Sir William Berkeley could be raised from the dead, and have a pile of the Virginian papers for a single week placed before him, his astonishment would know no bounds.

Under the influence of the sentiments by which Virginia was actuated at the period before spoken of (1653) and the continued increase of dissatisfaction with the doctrines and practices of the Puritans and republicans in New England as well as in Old, they availed themselves of the opportunity presented by the death of the Governor Matthews, before any steps were taken at home to name his successor, to raise the standard of revolt against Cromwell's power, and to proclaim Charles the Second as their lawful King. The more timid apprehended from this a long and disastrous conflict with the mother-country, and

ultimate subjugation to her superior power ; but in the midst of these fears, intelligence arrived of Cromwell's death, and soon after of Charles's Restoration; "which," says the historian, "enabled the Virginians safely to exult in the singularity which they long and proudly commemorated, that they had been the last of the British subjects who had renounced, and the first who had resumed their allegiance to the crown."

Sir William Berkeley, who had been summoned by the colonists to take the reins of government from the moment they had raised the royal standard, received, after the restoration of Charles, a commission in 1660, confirming him in his power ; and some good and some bad laws characterized his administration. Among the first, was the restoration of the trial by jury ; among the last, was a law against the importation or harbouring of Quakers, under a penalty of 5,000 lbs of tobacco ! The Parliament of England, however, now chiefly legislated for the Colonies generally ; and some of its measures were deemed so injurious to their interest by the Virginians, particularly some of the new provisions of the Navigation Laws, that they first remonstrated, and finding that useless, plotted a revolt ; and though this was checked before it could be expected, in 1663, yet some years afterwards, in 1671, the popular discontent had reached its height ; and in 1675 two other plots of insurrection were discovered and crushed in the bud.

In the following year, however, the Colony broke out into open rebellion, under a bold and adventurous leader, named Bacon, who, at the head of the

insurgents, attacked James-Town and reduced it to ashes, permitting his followers to pillage the houses and plantations of the loyalists, and to carry off their persons as hostages ; in short, the whole Colony was involved in all the horrors of a civil war.

As soon as intelligence of this reached England, the King sent out an armament under Sir John Berry, declared Bacon a traitor, tendering free pardon to all who should forsake him, and freedom to all slaves who should assist in suppressing the revolt. Bacon was prepared to resist to the death, and his followers increased rather than diminished, as his popularity and influence were unbounded. Before the forces arrived, however, Bacon was seized with sickness, and died ; and, at the loss of their leader, the rebel army grew dispirited, and soon became disbanded and dispersed, to the great joy of the loyalists.

In 1677, when the expected succours arrived, the rebellion was entirely suppressed ; and Colonel Jeffreys, the new governor, succeeded to Sir William Berkeley, who was now grown old, having served through an administration of nearly forty years, soon after which he died, greatly and deservedly respected. Jeffrey's short career was marked by much of injustice and disaster, and that of his successor, Lord Culpepper, was arbitrary and vexatious in the extreme ; so that after the short space of five years, another insurrection occurred, in 1682. The details of this period are full of the grossest outrages and oppressions practised by the Colonial governors, and sanctioned by the Monarch ; and when, in 1683, Lord Effingham was appointed to govern the Colony, "the King expressly commanded him to suffer no

person within the Colony to make use of a printing-press, on any occasion or pretence whatsoever !”

At length, Charles the Second was succeeded by the Second James, in 1685, and the colonists then hoped the change would bring them some relief; but instead of this, their burthens were augmented: while the conduct of Lord Effingham was worse than that of any of his predecessors. Grahame, on the authority of Beverley, Oldmixon, and Chalmers, says—“ Lord Effingham, like his predecessor, engrafted the baseness of a sordid disposition on the severity of an arbitrary and tyrannical administration. He refused to convoke the Provincial Assembly; he instituted a Court of Chancery, in which he himself presided as judge; and besides multiplying and enhancing the fees attached to his own peculiar functions, he condescended to share with clerks the meaner perquisites of subordinate offices. For some time he contrived to stifle the remonstrances which his extortions produced, by the infliction of arbitrary imprisonment and other tyrannical severities; but at length, the public displeasure became so general and uncontrollable, that he found it impossible to prevent the complaints of the Colony from being carried to England; for which country, he, in consequence, resolved to embark himself, in order to be present at his own arraignment.” But before he reached home, the Revolution of 1688 had hurled the greater tyrant of the mother-country from the throne; so that the lesser tyrants found their safety in the general absorption of the public mind by changes nearer at hand. But William the Third, instead of dismissing Lord Effingham, continued

him in the commission as Governor, though he never dared to return to the Colony, but enjoyed the salary of his office at home, while a deputy performed his duties abroad; and when his death created a vacancy, it was filled by the royal appointment of another Colonial tyrant, Sir Edmund Andros, previously expelled by the indignant citizens of Massachusetts for his misdeeds there. Such have been the royal patrons, who took our early Colonies under their protection!

At this period, 1692, the whole population of Virginia did not exceed 50,000, of whom it was thought that fully one-half consisted of negro slaves. The only domestic tribute, or impost, was a poll-tax, paid by rich and poor alike; but this ensured the political right of suffrage to all who paid it, and therefore, placed both rich and poor on the footing of the most perfect political equality. The divisions of the settled part of the country embraced about 50 parishes, with 200,000 acres of appropriated land; and in each parish was a house and glebe for the minister, whose stipend was fixed by law at 16,000 pounds weight of tobacco, the presentations to the livings being made by the Governor, and the Bishop of London being the diocesan of the colony.

Some of the laws passed at this period were remarkable. Penal enactments were made against travelling on Sundays, against profane swearing, and getting drunk. Persons riotously assembling to the number of more than eight, for the purpose of destroying tobacco, were held to be guilty of treason! Every person, not being a servant or slave, if convicted of adultery, was fined 1,000 pounds of tobacco;

and if convicted of fornication, had to pay 500 pounds of the same commodity ; this being, in short, the legal currency of the country in lieu of money. Women convicted of slander were, by law, to be ducked in water, unless their husbands chose to save them from this punishment by the payment of a fine. There were then no inns in the country, but travellers were entertained at private houses ; the owners of these sometimes charging so exorbitantly for their hospitality, that a law was passed, declaring that unless the entertainer entered beforehand into a contract as to the rate at which he intended to charge his guest, it should be taken for granted that he intended to entertain him from pure hospitality, and without fee or reward !

If a slave were convicted of felony, and executed, his marketable value was paid to his owner out of the public treasury ; but the death of a slave from excessive punishment, at the hand of his master, or by his order, was not accounted felony ; as it could not be presumed, in the eye of the law, that any man really intended to destroy so valuable an article of his own property ! If any person, having Christian white servants indentured for a given period, married an infidel, or a negro, or a mulatto, or an Indian, all such indentured servants became immediately free ; and any free white person so marrying, as well as the minister celebrating the marriage, was punished with fine and imprisonment. Indians coming into the province were liable to be made slaves, and this was countenanced and upheld by the provisional statute-law of the Colony.

At this period, there was but little attention paid

to literature in Virginia. In this respect, New England took the lead of all the States south of her ; for while in Boston, about the year 1700, there were five printing-offices, and many book-stores, there was only one of the latter in New York, and not one in either Virginia, Maryland, or Carolina. The cheapness and abundance of land ensured to every one who would use only a moderate share of industry, an ample competence ; and so general was this condition, even among the humblest settlers, that it is stated by Beverley, one of the historians of the country about this time, that he had known the sum of 5*l.* left by a benevolent testator to the poor of the parish in which he lived, remain for nine years in the hands of the executors, before any poor person really in want of money could be found ; and at last it was given to one old woman, whose only claim to it was, that she had not quite so comfortable a competency as her neighbours !

In 1704, the government of Virginia was conferred by Queen Anne on the Earl of Orkney, who enjoyed all its emoluments for thirty-six years, without ever once leaving England even to *see* the country he was paid for governing ; so that he received in the whole 42,000*l.* of salary alone, besides patronage and emoluments, drawn from the pockets of a people whom he never even condescended to visit ! Such acts as these might well prepare the colonists for dissatisfaction with the mother-country. But during this period, events were happening in the Colony itself, calculated to hasten the period when its resources and its strength should enable it to sustain the great struggle by which it was to achieve its own



independence. Among these events was the exploration of the rich country beyond the Alleghanny or Apalachian mountains, which was undertaken in 1714, and crowned with complete success, opening to the view of the colonists, for the first time, immense tracts of beautiful and fertile lands, to be the future seat of wealth and population.

From this period onward, a general tranquillity and steadily increasing prosperity marked the history of Virginia. In 1722, the population was nearly double that of 1700; it having advanced, from 50,000 at the former period, to upwards of 100,000 at the latter; though these were still a mere handful, compared to the vast expanse of territory than comprehended within this single State. At Williamsburgh, which was then the capital, there existed the College of William and Mary, the State-house, and the Capitol. There was also a theatre, the first ever erected in the Colonies. Printing was first introduced here in 1729; and the first newspaper ever published in Virginia was issued at Williamsburgh, in 1736. The produce of tobacco was at this time considerable; not less than 100,000 hogsheads being shipped annually from Maryland and Virginia, valued at 8*l.* sterling per hogshead, which gave employment to about 200 ships, and produced a gain to the mother-country from this trade alone of about half a million sterling. In addition to this staple article, however, iron-ore and copper-ore, bees-wax, hemp, and raw silk, were exported from Virginia to England, the last article of which seems likely to be revived as a commodity of trade.

The war between Great Britain and France,

which broke out in 1744, involved the Colonies in the contest; and in 1751, Washington, then a youth of nineteen years of age, appears for the first time on the public stage, he having been sent as a commissioner from the governor of his native State, Virginia, to the commander of a French fort in the Ohio. The answer of the French officer being evasive, an expedition was soon after despatched to that quarter, the command of which devolved on Washington, after the death of its leader, Colonel Fry. He was at first successful in an affair with a detachment under Jumonville, who was killed; but on following this up by an attack on Fort Duquesne, the place which the expedition was sent to reduce, he found the reinforcements of the French troops such as to oblige him to retreat. After sustaining the fire of the enemy for a whole day, the French demanded a parley; and Washington surrendered on honourable terms, being allowed to pass with his troops and baggage back to the settled parts of the State from whence he had come. Washington, after this, accompanied the expedition of General Braddock as a volunteer against the French, on the Ohio, in 1755, and was a witness of his defeat; but in 1759, he was entrusted with the command of the scattered and re-collected troops of Grant, who had failed as signally as Braddock in the same quarter. At the head of these troops he took the fort which had defied all the attacks of his predecessors, and called it Pittsburgh, in honour of England's then foreign minister, the Earl of Chatham; for Washington was then fighting under the British flag.

At the termination of this war by the treaty of

Fontainbleau, in 1762, the delicate and difficult question arose, of how and in what proportion the colonies of North America should be made to bear their share of its expense, as they had enjoyed the benefit of its protection ; and as the Virginians had, so early as 1624, asserted “ that she only had the undoubted right to lay taxes and impositions, and none other,” and repeated the same doctrine, in still stronger language in 1676, it was not likely that she would now acquiesce in the propositions made by England in 1764, to raise a revenue on stamps in America, to be paid into the King’s exchequer in England, as their contribution towards the expenses of the war. The proposition was resisted by memorial, petition, remonstrance, and appeal ; and when all these had failed to move the British government, and the act was really passed in 1765, it excited universal indignation, which was accompanied by the cessation of all business, by persons putting on public mourning, by the courts refusing to sanction the act in any of their sittings, and by all classes of people refusing to use the stamps.

From this moment the Revolution might be said to be begun ; and its first step in Virginia, was the passing, by the Legislature of that Colony, the following declaratory resolution, proposed by the celebrated orator, Patrick Henry :—

“ Resolved, that the General Assembly of this Colony, together with his Majesty, or substitute, have, in their representative capacity, the only exclusive right and power to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this Colony ; and that every attempt to vest such power in any person or persons whatsoever, other than the General Assembly aforesaid, is illegal, unconstitutional,

and unjust, and has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American freedom."

The Governor of Virginia, Lord Botetourt, as representing his Majesty, no sooner heard of the passing of this resolution by the General Assembly, than he dissolved it forthwith ; but the constituencies, in the election of the succeeding House, sent up only those who would sustain the resolutions, and rejected all who would not. The example of Virginia fixed the other Colonies, who passed similar resolutions, and proposed a General Congress, which met at New York, where deputies from nine of the Colonies drafted the first Declaration of Rights in 1766.

In 1774, when the draft of the Boston-port Bill, for the exclusion of the duty-charged tea, sent from England, reached Virginia, the new Governor, Lord Dunmore, dissolved the Assembly ; but the members met on the following day in the Raleigh Tavern (still existing) at Williamsburgh, and drew up an able and manly paper, in which they recommended cessation of trade with the East India Company, from whom this obnoxious tea was sent out, taxed by the mother-country. They also advised the assembling of deputies in a Congress from all the Colonies, declaring their opinion that an attack upon the liberties of one should be equally resisted by all. Such a General Congress was accordingly assembled in Philadelphia on the 4th of September, in the same year.

The first overt act of resistance by arms, that marked the outbreak of the Revolution in Virginia, was on the 19th of April, 1775 ; when the Governor, Lord Dunmore, removed the gunpowder from the magazine at Williamsburgh, on board his Majesty's

ship *Magdalene*, then lying in the Chesapeake, which was done under cover of the night. This act becoming known, excited the indignation of the citizens, who demanded its instant restitution ; but an evasive answer was given to the demand. Patrick Henry then marched with a company of volunteers, from Hanover county, and forced the King's treasurer to make compensation for the powder thus removed. Meanwhile, the Governor, feeling himself no longer safe on shore, embarked on board the *Montague*, which threatened to open her guns on York-Town, if any attempt were made at resistance. The Assembly invited the Governor to return on shore, to transact the necessary business of the Legislature, and sign many bills waiting this act to give them validity. This he refused to do, unless the Assembly would meet him under the guns of the ship of war, which, of course, they declined. The Governor was, therefore, declared to have abdicated his power ; and the Assembly, appointing the president of the council to act in his place, joined the General Association of the original Thirteen Colonies, in their hostility to British power, till they achieved their independence.

From this period, the progress of Virginia has been steadily onward, but not with such rapidity as the more northern States. If extent of area, fertility of soil, beauty of scenery, and salubrity of climate, could have attracted population in a degree proportioned to its superiority in all these features, over all the other States, then ought Virginia to have been by this time, the most thickly-peopled State in the Union ; for in all these enumerated qualities

she excels every other with which she can be compared. And if the production of great men could have carried her forward in a more rapid career of improvement than other States not so prolific in this respect, then ought she also to stand at the head of all the States in the Union; for none other can present such a galaxy of talent and greatness, as Virginia has produced, among which, the names of Washington, Jefferson, Henry, Lee, Monroe, Marshall, Madison, Randolph, and Clay, form but a small portion, though these are enough to stamp the State with the highest character for the production of statesmen, warriors, lawyers, and orators. But, despite these unquestionable advantages of superior resources and superior men, Virginia has not advanced with the same rapidity as other States of far inferior promise; and in looking about for the causes of this, there appear to be only the two that so long ago as 1786 struck Mr. Jefferson as the two great drawbacks to Virginian prosperity, namely the excessive cultivation of tobacco, which exhausts the soil, and is ruinous to the interests and comforts of those engaged in its culture; and the system of Slavery, which produces the smallest amount of unskilful labour, in return for the largest outlay of capital in its purchase and subsistence. Were these two causes removed, Virginia would soon overtake all her competitors in the race; but while they continue, her progress, must be comparatively slow. Still, under these two great disadvantages, she presents the aspect of a magnificent country with immense resources, as the following description of her existing condition will show.

## CHAP. XXV.

Present extent, condition, and statistics of Virginia—Area, surface, different zones, climate, productions, fruits, trees, minerals, and agricultural resources—Natural Curiosities—The Ice Mountain and Ice Cave—Salt Pond Lake on the summit of the Alleghannies—Colossal Sepulchral Indian Mound with Skeletons—Literary Institutions—Colleges—Funds—Primary Schools—Internal improvements, Manufactures, and Commerce—Religious establishments—Sects and their proportions—Population—Rise and Progress—White and coloured races—Legislature, Executive, and Judiciary of the State—Paupers—Causes of Pauperism—Taxes and treatment—Boundaries of the State of Virginia—General summary of its advantages over other States.

VIRGINIA, or “The Old Dominion,” as its inhabitants still delight to call it, is not only the oldest but the largest State in the Union. Its dimensions are variously stated, but the most accurate, as I have tested it by careful examination, is that of Mitchell, an authority, in all that relates to the geography of this country, quite equal to that of Arrowsmith for the geography of Europe; his measurement of its area, makes its extent from North to South about 220 miles, and from East to West about 370 miles, its whole surface, therefore, covering about 64,000 square miles, or 40,960,000 acres. Hinton, a very good authority in most cases, is singularly inaccurate in respect to the size of Virginia, which he makes to

be 430 by 150 miles, instead of 370 by 220, and on this he deduces its area to be 700,000 square miles! which must be an error of the pen or the press. Even by the smaller measurement of Mitchell, it will be found that this single State of Virginia is larger than all England, Scotland, and Wales, or the whole Island of Britain, the entire area of which is estimated at 62,236 square miles, while that of Virginia, in its present limits, is 64,000 square miles! When Mr. Jefferson wrote his "Notes on Virginia," in 1786, the adjoining States of Kentucky and Ohio formed part of Virginia; its area was then 121,525 square miles, or one third larger than Great Britain and Ireland, the united area of which was estimated at 88,357 square miles. Such is the colossal extent of this great Union, made up of twenty-six States and three Territories, each large enough, with very few exceptions, to form a splendid kingdom in itself.

Virginia is divided into three distinct zones—The Atlantic section, stretching from the sea-coast to the foot of the first range of mountains, called the Blue Ridge, is generally level, or slightly undulated, of alluvial soil. From the warm temperature of its climate, lying between 36° and 40° of north latitude, it is calculated to produce tobacco, cotton, indigo, corn, and grain of various kinds, including rice; with hemp, flax, grapes, melons, peaches, figs, quinces, nectarines, apricots, pomegranates, apples, pears, cherries, almonds, and plums, as well as tomatoes, potatoes, peas, beans, and almost every kind of fruit and esculent vegetable required for domestic use. There are many rivers traversing these alluvial



plains ; and while their banks are unusually rich in fertility, their streams afford easy means of communication to the great Bay of the Chesapeake, and the fine harbours along the coast.

The middle zone of Virginia comprehends the mountain ridges of the Alleghanny or Apalachian chain ; and, while the summits of these ridges are elevated from 4,000 to 5,000 feet above the level of the sea, the vallies lying between them are elevated from 1,000 to 2,500 feet above the ocean, and give to the mountain region the most delicious summer-climate that can be conceived. In this zone are found the various species of American oaks, fifty or sixty in number, with the sycamore, walnut, spruce, and other pines, the cedar, the chesnut, and other forest trees, besides the palma christi, the linden or lime-tree, the sugar maple, the buck-eye, or horse chesnut, the aspen, the red-flowering maple, the magnolia acuminata, the fringe or snow-drop tree, the yellow jasmin, the cucumber tree, the red-bud or Judas tree, the American aloc, the rhododendron, kalmia, azalia, and numberless other beautiful flowering trees and shrubs. Here too, grain of every kind is cultivated in abundance, and cattle reared in perfection ; while water is everywhere copious and excellent : making it, in the whole, the most favoured region for agriculture, pasture, and climate, in all the United States.

In this central zone are found also mineral springs in great number and variety, and many of the most valuable metals. Gold has been discovered on the north side of the Rappahannock river. Mines of lead, mixed with silver, exist in Montgomery county,

on the river Kenhāwa, and mines of copper in Amherst county, north of James-river, with others in the opposite county, on the southern side of that stream. Iron mines are worked in Albermarle county, as well as in the counties of Augusta and Frederick; and vessels made of cast-iron, from the ores of these mines, are said to be tougher than any other cast-iron vessels known. Plumbago, or black-lead, is found in Amelia county; and coal is so abundant in the neighbourhood of Richmond, as to form one of their chief articles of export from thence. Nitre caves on Rock Creek, a branch of the river Kenhāwa, as well as on the Green Briar and Cumberland rivers, furnish this substance in abundance; and Brine Springs, near the same streams, yield immense quantities of salt. Limestone is the chief substance of the rocks and mountains west of the Alleghanny range, and excellent marble is found in the Rockfish Gap, and on James-river. Beautiful rock-crystals are common in the hills, and amethysts are also often found. One instance is mentioned of a fine emerald having been accidentally discovered. But for want of capital, population, and enterprise, scarcely a fraction of the vast mineral treasures of the State has been yet explored; though enough is known to prove, that in this, it will at some future day, prove itself to be as rich, as in its agricultural and commercial resources, and these are but yet half developed, from the same cause.\*

\* Since writing the above, the following paragraph has appeared in the New York papers on this subject—

“**MINERAL RICHES OF VIRGINIA.**—Bituminous coal occurs at intervals over a tract of 35 miles, from South Anna river, near

Among the natural curiosities—some of which, especially the Natural Bridge and Wyer's Cave, have been fully described—there is, perhaps, none more remarkable than that of the Ice-mountain, and Ice-cave in Hampshire county; where, at an elevation of about 1,000 feet from the general level of the valley below, the north-west side of the mountain is covered with loose stones, like the summit of the White Mountain in New Hampshire; and on removing these stones, to a depth of two or three feet from the surface, an abundant supply of ice is found at the hottest seasons of the year. There are also many fine cataracts, especially the Falling Spring in Alleghany county, which has a perpendicular descent of 200 feet. There are also some ebbing and flowing springs, which, though perfectly fresh, and distant 300 miles from the sea, alternately ebb and flow like the tides of the ocean. And lastly, there is the remarkable Salt-water Lake, on the summit of the mountains in Giles county, which is three miles

its mouth, to the Appomattox. In some places the coal seam is found 40 feet thick. It is found in abundance within 16 miles of Richmond, in Henrico, in Chesterfield, in Goochland, in Powhatan—on James-river and on the Tuckahoe. At Mid Lothian pit, in Chesterfield county, a shaft has been sunk 720 feet below the surface, and a seam of fine coal been penetrated 11 feet.

“Iron is found in abundance in various parts of the State. There are seven mines of it in Spotsylvania, near the junction of the Rappahannock and the Rapidan rivers.

“Of gold mines, generally less valuable than iron, there are 12 in Goochland, 15 in Orange, 11 in Culpepper, 26 in Spotsylvania, 10 in Stafford, and six in Fauquier. Total gold mines, 80!

“There are also 5 copper mines in Fauquier county. The mineral resources in Virginia are truly most extensive and valuable.”

in circumference, and 100 fathoms deep, though at an elevation of 3,700 feet above the sea. It was originally a "Salt Lick," as it is called, a place where deer and other wild animals came to lick the incrustations of salt formed here by the evaporations of shallow salt-streams, in their passage through a deep valley or glen; but within the memory of aged persons now living, the apertures of entrance to, and exit from this valley, became closed up, and the springs at the bottom, finding no outlet, gradually accumulated their waters, till they formed the singular lake now existing, on the very summit of the mountain.

The interior zone of Virginia, which stretches from the Alleghamies to the Ohio river, resembles the central one; but the mountains, being more abrupt, do not present so large a surface adapted to agriculture, as to pasture; though, wherever agriculture is pursued, the soil is found to be equally fertile, and the climate quite as salubrious. It is in this section of the country that is found one of the largest of the Indian mounds yet discovered, about fourteen miles below Wheeling, on the Ohio. This mound is three hundred feet in diameter at its base, sixty feet in diameter at its top, and seventy feet in perpendicular height. It is believed to contain thousands of skeletons of the burned Indians of remote ages, for in every part yet opened, such dead bodies have been found. But neither the Indians of the present day, nor the most learned of those who have made their history their study, have yet been able to throw the least light on the question, of who these Indians

were, or at what period, or by what particular tribe or nation this huge mound was erected.

The literary institutions of Virginia comprehend the most ancient College of William and Mary at Williamsburgh, founded in 1693; Hampden and Sydney College in Prince Edward county, incorporated in 1783; Washington College at Lexington established in 1796; and the University of Virginia, founded by Jefferson at Charlottesville in 1819. A Literary Fund, supported by the State Legislature, for the support of academics and schools, gives some assistance to the cause of Education, its annual expenditure being, on the average, 60,000 dollars. But no general and comprehensive system of Common Schools exists in Virginia, on the plan of Massachusetts, New York, and the Northern States generally; though the soundness of the principle which makes the State the guardian and supporter of public education, being now admitted by the formation of this Literary Fund, its extension will naturally follow. The Fund was first established by the Legislature of Virginia in 1809, by devoting the proceeds of all escheats, forfeitures, and fines, to the encouragement of learning. In 1816, this was augmented by the appropriation of the amount due from the general Government of the United States to the State of Virginia, on account of advances made by this State in support of the last war with Great Britain. From these united sources, the Fund is now upwards of 1,500,000 dollars; its revenue being 78,000 dollars annually. Of this, 45,000 dollars are expended every year in the support of primary schools in the various

counties of the State, for the education of white children of indigent parents. The number of such schools, in 100 counties and towns were, by the last report, 2,872; the whole number of children receiving education, on this system, upwards of 50,000; and the average expense of education for each child, was about two dollars and fifty cents, or ten shillings and six-pence only per annum, including cost of books, teachers, and all contingent expenses!

Of internal improvements, the most remarkable is the opening of the Dismal Swamp near Norfolk, over which a canal has been carried, twenty-two miles in length; which, in conjunction with railroads on either side, has opened a direct and speedy communication between Norfolk in Virginia and Wilmington in North Carolina, to the benefit of both. Railroads are extending also in different directions; and steamboats on all the bays, rivers, and coasts, make the communications safe, rapid, and cheap. The Internal Improvement Fund is upwards of 3,000,000 dollars; the interest of which is appropriated to aid the progress of public works.

The manufactures of Virginia have been lately on the increase, those of cotton alone employing a capital of 5,000,000 of dollars. The commerce exceeds 5,000,000 of dollars in annual exports of native products, in addition to articles of foreign trade; but the imports are almost all obtained through New York, though great efforts are making to bring back, if possible, the import trade to Norfolk, as the most appropriate port of entry for the State.

Of the religious establishments in Virginia, the Baptists take the lead, having about 400 churches,

250 ministers, and upwards of 50,000 communicants. The Methodists follow next in order of numbers, having about 100 ministers, and upwards of 40,000 members. The Presbyterians have 120 churches, and about the same number of ministers, with upwards of 10,000 communicants. The Episcopalians, though the oldest of all the denominations, have only 50 churches, and about 70 clergymen. The numbers of the Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Quakers, and Jews, are not accurately known, but each have several congregations; and the Roman Catholics are thought to be greatly on the increase. The Episcopalians, however, in Virginia, as in the other States, embrace the most wealthy and aristocratic portions of the community, and make up in influence what they want in numbers, so as to form always a most important portion of the religious bodies of the community. The progressive increase of population in Virginia, may be seen from the following statement—

<i>Before the Revolution.</i>			<i>Since the Revolution.</i>		
In 1642	-	20,000	In 1790	-	747,610
1660	-	30,000	1800	-	880,200
1703		60,606	1810	-	974,622
1749	-	85,000	1820	-	1,065,366
1763	-	170,000	1830	-	1,211,375

Estimated present population, 1,500,000

White, 800,000—Coloured, 700,000

Capacity to support population, at least 20,000,000.

The Legislature of Virginia is composed of a House of Delegates, consisting of 134 members, chosen annually by the people; a Senate, composed of 32 members, chosen, for four years, by the coun-

ties, one-fourth being renewed every year ; and a Governor, chosen for three years, and elected by the joint vote of the two Houses, or General Assembly ; and in all cases the voting is open, or *viva voce*, and not by secret ballot.

The Executive is composed of the Governor, who has a salary of 3,000 dollars per annum ; a Lieutenant-Governor, and two other Counsellors of State, at 1,000 dollars a year each ; a Treasurer, two Auditors, a Registrar of the Land Office, an Attorney-General, and several Secretaries, with salaries varying from 2,000 to 1,000 dollars each.

The Judiciary consists of a Court of Appeal, formed of five Judges, at salaries of 2,500 dollars each ; and a General Court, of twenty-one Judges, one for each of the Circuits of the State, at salaries of 1,500 dollars each. Besides these, there are County Courts held for criminal as well as civil offences, by Justices of the Peace ; and on the whole, justice is cheaply, speedily, and impartially administered.

The number of paupers in Virginia is probably greater than in any other State in the Union ; being in the last year upwards of 2,500 ; and involving an annual expense of 100,000 dollars for their support. The causes which most powerfully contribute to this state of things appear to be—First, the system of Slavery, which makes menial labour degrading, and therefore disagreeable to the whites, and indisposes them to that degree of manual exertion and industry which they would use where slave-labour was unknown. Secondly, the excessive use of tobacco, which, in either of its forms of chewing or smoking, disposes men to indolence, and leads to an immense



loss of time; but besides this, it too frequently, among the poor especially, brings habits of drinking in its train, and thus doubly disqualifies the subject of it from being either industrious or economical. For the support of such paupers, a tax or poor-rate is raised by the overseers of the poor, and is thus appropriated:—In the greater number of the counties, the poor are boarded out in private families, frequently among their relatives, at a stipulated rate per annum; or the pauper sometimes receives the annual sum agreed on, which varies from 50 to 100 dollars for a single person, and he then maintains himself. In a few of the counties, however—not more than a fourth of the whole number—a poor-house is erected, by consent of the County Court. To this is attached a farm, on which, all paupers who receive relief are obliged to work, as well as to live; and their cost of maintenance by this mode is only from 30 to 40 dollars each per annum. This system, which is of comparatively recent introduction, has wrought the same reform here as the New Poor Law in England. Idle vagabonds, who forced themselves on the pauper-fund by the former system, and lived in laziness upon their annual stipend, shrink from this test of working on the farm, and earning their bread before they eat it. Counties, which under the former system, had from 75 to 100 paupers each, at a cost of from 50 to 100 dollars per head, have now only from 20 to 30, at a cost of 30 to 40 dollars each; and those who are really in want have more comfortable homes in these houses than they could otherwise procure; while the lazy are made industrious by the change.

The boundaries of Virginia, are, on the North, the States of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, and the District of Columbia, once part of this State on the South, North Carolina and Tennessee; on the west, Kentucky and Ohio; and on the east, the Chesapeake Bay, the State of Maryland, and the Atlantic Ocean.

On the whole, therefore, Virginia, or “The Old Dominion,”—though having two powerful drawbacks to her advancing career of prosperity, in the cultivation of tobacco and the existence of Slavery—is nevertheless a magnificent State; larger in area than any other in the Union, and more diversified and beautiful in its scenery; with one of the noblest bays, and one of the finest harbours in the world, as well as some of the most beautiful rivers on the globe; as the Chesapeake, and its tributary streams of the Susquehannah, Shenandoah, Patapsco, Potomac, Rappahannock, the James, York, and Elizabeth rivers on the coast—with the Monongahela, the Great Kenhàwa, the Cumberland, and the Ohio, in the interior—sufficiently prove.

Her climate and productions embrace, on the whole, a greater variety also than any other single State; and, while the men of Virginia are among the largest and finest in stature, with more healthy complexions, and more robust and vigorous frames, than are to be seen in any other of the Atlantic States; the women are neither so diminutive in size, so spare or slender in figure, so pale in complexion, or so consumptive in constitution, as the women of the North. In both sexes, a degree of ease and frankness is observable, which makes them a sort of

connecting-link between the coldness and reserve of the New Englanders, and the boldness and recklessness of the Louisianians and Mississippians. I have seen it stated, that when Sir John Sinclair, the celebrated agriculturist, turned his thoughts towards America, as the land of his future home, and corresponded with General Washington on the subject, asking his advice as to the best portion of the Union for a gentleman-farmer to settle in; the General recommended him to fix on the central parts of Virginia, between the Blue Ridge and the easternmost of the Alleghannies, as the Arcadia of this continent. I confess that I should have given the same advice, to any friend who had consulted me on the same subject. For a healthy, tranquil, and abundantly-rewarded agricultural and pastoral life, I can imagine nothing superior, in soil, climate, scenery, and salubrity, to that delightful zone. It would even now form an agreeable home for the industrious emigrant, with a little capital and knowledge of farming; and if Slavery and tobacco-planting were abandoned, and free labour and wheat-cultivation substituted in their stead, it would be filled, in less than a century, with a numerous, opulent, and intelligent population, counting millions instead of thousands in her census.

## CHAP. XXVI.

Departure from Norfolk—Touch at the ruins of James-Town—  
Want of reverence in the Americans for antiquities—National  
vanity exhibited in their literature—Exaggerated estimate of  
American poetry—Voyage up the James-River—City point—  
Large ships loading—Arrival at Richmond—Journey to Freder-  
icksburg—Description of the town—Stage route to War-  
renton—Gang of negro slaves chained in pairs, marching  
towards a Southern market—Frequent escape of slaves, and  
rewards for seizing them.

WE left Norfolk at six A. M. on the morning of  
Wednesday the 11th of September, in the steamer  
Patrick Henry, for Richmond, intending to visit the  
New White Sulphur Springs, in Faquier county,  
east of the Blue Ridge, by way of Fredericksburg,  
and to go from thence to Alexandria, for the purpose  
of visiting the mansion and tomb of General Wash-  
ington at Mount Vernon, as it would have been  
painful to us to quit Virginia without paying our  
humble homage at the shrine of one of the most  
illustrious of her sons.

The morning of our departure was one of the  
most exquisitely beautiful that can be conceived;  
the late storm, which had strewed the coast with  
wrecks, had at the same time so purified the atmos-  
phere, that the blue vault of heaven seemed im-

measurably more lofty than usual, from the intense clearness of the infinite space ; and the sunrise was literally gorgeous. The view of the town of Norfolk from the harbour, as we glided down between it and Portsmouth, less than half a mile distant from either, was beautiful ; and as we had in sight at the same time, the openings of the two branches of Elizabeth-river, with the Navy-yard at Gosport, the Java and Guerriere frigates, the Delaware and Pennsylvania ships of the line, while just beyond us the Naval Asylum, with its snow-white Doric portico and pediment, seemed bathed in a flood of sun-light, and the frigate Brandywine, ready equipped for sea, at anchor abreast of it, in gallant trim, with sloops, schooners, and boats innumerable, thus early in motion—the picture was most animated and enchanting.

I confess, however, that there was a dash of melancholy in the feelings with which I remembered that I had looked upon the same scene, with a change only of the moving objects, thirty years ago ; and that of all those whom I had then known residing here, in youth, vigour, and beauty, as well as in more mature age, the greater number had been swept away by death, and all had been dispersed ; so that there was not now left a single individual, out of a hundred, at least, whom I then personally knew, and whose friendly hospitalities I had shared ! Add to this, the conviction in my own mind, that I was now looking upon it for the last time, and that there was not the remotest probability of my ever beholding it again, deepened the sadness under which I felt weighed down ; so that when we rounded the point of Craney Island, and turning sharp to the

north-west, entered the mouth of James-river, by which Norfolk and its harbour disappeared from our sight, I felt my heart almost full enough for tears.

The splendid steamer in which we were embarked, swept along her majestic way, at a rate of fifteen miles per hour ; and as the weather continued beautifully fine, we remained constantly on the upper deck, and enjoyed the passing scenery on both sides of our track. The James-river appeared from five to six miles wide at its entrance, and gradually diminished in breadth as we ascended, till we came to James-Town, fifty miles from the mouth of the river, and seventy from Richmond, where it is little less than two miles across.

As the steamer stopped here a few minutes only, to take in, and put on shore, some passengers for Williamsburgh, to which this is the nearest point of embarkation, we were enabled to make a hurried visit to the remnant of the old church-tower, built of English bricks, and to bring away a fragment of it as a relic, as this solitary ruin is all that remains of this first settlement of the British in the Old Dominion, and the first *English* town ever founded or built on the shores of the New World.\* The towers of Ilion, on the plain of Troy, have hardly been more completely demolished, than the buildings which composed the James-Town of Smith and his brave companions, in the days of the Virgin Queen ; and

\* The oldest town in the United States, by more than forty years, is St. Augustine, in Florida. It was founded by the *Spaniards* forty years before Virginia was colonized. Some of the houses are yet standing, which are said to have been built more than three centuries ago.

though the two rivers that wash the tongue of land on which this infant settlement was planted, are not likely, for ages yet to come, to shrink into such narrow beds as those of the Simois and the Scamander; yet, without some infusion of the taste for antiquities, and a veneration for the heroes and heroines of their early history, which hardly seem to be known or felt among the present race of Americans, it seems probable that the very spot where their first city stood, will be less capable of recognition than the site of the ancient Nineveh or Babel, or the tombs of Ajax and Achilles, on the Trojan plain. And yet, the history of the early navigators, their adventurous voyage across the stormy Atlantic, in frail and trembling barks, their enterprise and devotion, and the romantic history of their intrepid leader, and his tender-hearted deliverer, Pocahontas, is as well worthy of being embalmed in the memories of their posterity, as the voyage of the Argonauts, or the wanderings of Ulysses, and need only the genius of a true poet to embody them in undying verse.

On this subject, I cannot forbear adverting to an article on the subject of American poetry, which formed part of my reading on the deck of the Patrick Henry, as we steamed up the James-river. On our voyage down this stream from Richmond, a fortnight since, we had among the passengers, Mr. George Jones, the American tragedian, who confines himself to the performance of Shakspeare's most important characters, and who is now attempting a reform in the drama here, and Mr. T. K. White, the editor of one of the best periodicals in the country, entitled "The Southern Literary Messenger," published

monthly, at Richmond, but read extensively in every State in the Union. The first of these gentlemen I had known in England, the second I had corresponded with several times since my arrival in this country, so that we were on sufficiently intimate terms to enjoy a long conversation on American poetry, and the drama; and each of these, with the best opportunities, and equal capacities for judging, seemed to entertain the same lofty opinion of the taste and powers of their countrymen in this particular, as the Americans generally do, of their nation in all other things. The national sentiment seems to be—that they are not inferior to other nations *in anything*, and that they are greatly superior to them *in most*. The editor had furnished me with the two last numbers of the Southern Literary Messenger, for August and September—to which, indeed, as to most of the best periodicals of the country, I had been a regular subscriber and reader, ever since my landing in the country—and these I read as I sat on the deck of the Patrick Henry, enjoying, at intervals, the beautiful scenery of the river up which we were ascending. I content myself, therefore, with transcribing a single paragraph from the article entitled “Biographical Sketches of Living American Poets and Novelists,” from the August number, (p. 541) to show how one of the best periodicals in America expresses the general public sentiment as to her poets. This is the passage of the writer—

“It is true, as a nation, we are but an infant, but an infant which, like Minerva, sprung into being in full armour, noble in stature, godlike in wisdom, and clothed with the glory of perfect strength and beauty! America is indeed young, but the members



which compose this infantile empire, are coeval in civilization with the oldest nations of the earth. Equal with them, *and behind them in nothing*—whether in religion, philosophy, science, or the literary arts. It is quite time that our literary friends on the other side of the Atlantic, should cease to seek among us for the first rudiments alone of poetic composition, as if we were just emerging from a primitive state of ignorance, and knew nothing of the arts of poetry. They should cease to reject our muse, because a thousand years have not elapsed since our national birth—when our poetry has no more to do with our existence as a nation than Christianity has itself. Man is by nature a poet, and poetry is alone the language of enthusiasm and passion, or of a lively fancy and brilliant imagination. These—other things being equal, which, in the present case, we contend they are—must certainly be independent of length of political existence, their dependence being solely on the degree of cultivation of the mind. The scale of mental culture is full as high in America as in England; and save that the revolutionary war has laid the foundation for a distinctive national character, which has ever since been gradually forming, and turning into channels diverging from that which originally burst from the maternal fountain the current of American thought and genius, we are still one and the same people, and subjects of the same broad empire of mind.”

In the September number of the same work, the subject is again resumed, in an article headed “Recent American Poetry,” and it may be but fair to give from this, a short specimen of what the writer of the article thinks entitled to especial admiration, and prints, as a whole, for the purpose of confirming the soundness of his judgment. I give both the preface remarks of the reviewer, and the piece itself, and leave the reader to judge how far the excessive eulogy is deserved. The reviewer says—

“It is, however, upon his miscellaneous pieces that Mr. Dawes’ reputation as a poet mainly depends. *The melody of their versification is truly enchanting.* The *ideas*, too, are worthy of such

*exquisite expression.* The public are aware of the beauties of all these productions, for none have been more liberally transferred to our literary journals. We have space for the shortest only—

ART THOU HAPPY, LOVELY LADY?

“ Art thou happy, lovely lady,  
     In the splendour round thee thrown?  
 Can the jewels that array thee,  
     Bring the peace which must have flown?  
 By the vows which thou hast spoken,  
 By the faith which thou hast broken,  
 I ask of thee no token  
     That my heart is sad and lone.

“ There was one that loved thee, Mary!  
     There was one that fondly kept  
 A hope which could not vary,  
     Till in agony it slept.  
 He loved thee, dearly loved thee,  
 And thought his passion moved thee;  
 But disappointment proved thee  
     What love has often wept.

“ Had Mr. Dawes been a *common-place poet*, or simply a new claimant for distinction, we should have been *more prodigal of commendation*, and more niggard of blame. Bind up this volume without ‘Geraldine,’ and you have an admirable collection of poetry, fit to appear worthily, if not *the first*, in a ‘Library of American Poets.’ ”

The more charitably disposed in Europe, have been accustomed to think, that there were sufficient reasons to account for the fact, of no great poet having yet appeared in America—without imputing to the inhabitants of the country generally, any inferiority of intellect, or understanding, on all subjects to which they apply themselves with interest and zeal. Some have attributed this to the excessively busy and mercantile character of the people, and the

absence of a large class of persons of fortune and leisure for the enjoyment of the higher branches of literature, such as the old countries of Europe contain. Others have sought the solution of the problem, in the supposed scantiness of materials for poetry, in the absence of that romance, which mythology and early history throw around other lands. But the Oracle of the Literary Messenger will not admit of either. He contends that there *are* already as good poets in America as in any of the oldest and most literary countries of Europe; and he treats all those who think there is a scantiness of materials for poetry, with as little courtesy as respect.

While literary distinction is so slightly esteemed, and literary labour so inadequately rewarded, by the American community, those who possess even the highest order of genius will be drawn aside from the loftier pursuits of literature, to enter the lists in some other profession more likely to be rewarded with fortune as well as fame. It would not be too much to say, that Scott, Byron, Bulwer, and Moore, have received, in the distinctions conferred on them, and the prices paid for their writings, more honour and profit, than all the writers of the United States, from the Declaration of Independence, till the present time; and until a law of international copyright shall place American authors on a better footing of protection for their labours—until honours and distinctions shall be awarded by the public authorities—and as great homage be paid in social life to distinguished talents, in America, as is in England, and still more in Germany and in France—the progress of literary improvement, in the higher branches of the Belles

Lettres especially, will continue to be slow. Although such beautiful historical works, as that of Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella,—such sweet poetry as Bryant's, and Mrs. Sigourney's,—such exquisite works of imagination as Ware's Zenobia,—and such eminently philanthropic essays as those of Dr. Channing,—will, no doubt, continue to adorn the Literature of America; yet it will be long before a Shakspeare or a Milton would find “audience meet” among their busy and money-getting countrymen, even should they speedily appear. But I have given the extract from the Literary Messenger to show what opinions their most popular journals maintain upon this subject, rather than venture on assertions of my own, unsupported by proof; because the Americans perpetually accuse the English of doing them injustice, when they speak of their national vanity; though it is not so easy to deny it, when proofs are presented to them from their own records.

Our voyage from James-Town up the river was unmarked by any peculiarity. The weather continued to be delightful; the sky as bright as in an English June, and the thermometer at 70°. The fine old mansions of the Colonial planters, the scenes of loyalty and hospitality under the Old Dominion of the British, many of which still present their antique fronts to the gliding stream, are now possessed, not by their descendants, but by strangers; and the large estates, which were kept complete under the old law of primogeniture, are now divided into smaller portions among various possessors, so that in the language of the Grecian bard—

“To other lords the large domains,  
And the envied power remains,  
Of the territories wide,  
For which they fought, for which they died.”\*

It was thought by some of the Virginian gentlemen who accompanied us in this voyage, that many of these estates had changed possessors several times since the revolution, now little more than half a century ago.

On reaching the landing-place for Petersburg, on the southern banks of the river, where some passengers were put on shore, we found lying there and at the spot called City Point, just above it, twelve large ships loading with tobacco and cotton for Europe. Among them were three fine vessels of from 500 to 600 tons, belonging to Petersburg, the others were from Boston and New York. The navigation for large vessels ends here ; as above this, the river grows narrower and shallower all the way to Richmond, a distance of thirty-five miles, though the water continues to be deep enough for schooners, sloops, and steam-boats. The approach to Richmond in ascending the river is very fine, the rising city on its many hills, and the prominent position of the Capitol giving it a most imposing appearance. We reached the wharf about five o'clock, having been eleven hours performing a distance of 130 miles, or about twelve miles an hour all the way, against the current, and including all stoppages, making it therefore equal to about fifteen miles an hour without these hinderances.

\* *Æschylus*, in the *Seven Chiefs against Thebes*. 985.

Having slept at the Powhatan House, we left Richmond on the following morning (September 12) at eight o'clock, by the railroad cars for Fredericksburg. The morning was as bright and beautiful as on the preceding day, and the thermometer about 65°. Richmond itself seemed to us even more picturesque than on our first visit; but the country along which the railroad lay, between it and Petersburg, was tame and uninteresting; and the few patches cultivated with Indian corn, had been all destroyed by the recent violent storms. We did not reach Fredericksburg till four o'clock, having been therefore eight hours in going seventy-five miles, the fare being three dollars each. We found good accommodations for the night at the Farmer's Hotel; and enjoyed the evening in an agreeable walk, through and around the town.

Fredericksburg is a regularly-planned and well-built town, with straight and wide streets, substantial brick houses, and all the appearances of rising prosperity. It contains a population of 4,000 persons, of whom it is thought not more than 1,000 are people of colour, the proportion of these to the whites continually diminishing as you travel northward. It contains a good Court-House, and four Churches, Episcopalian, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist. It lies in the county of Spotsylvania, and near the banks of the Rappahannock river. Its stores are large, and well supplied. In the neighbourhood of the town are several cotton-factories for spinning and weaving, worked chiefly by white labourers, and increasing every year in the extent of their operations,

which continually draws a largely-increasing population to settle around them.

The early hours at which the stages leave, and the constant habit of their setting out *before* the time appointed, obliged us to be up at four; although we did not actually leave till five o'clock. The weather was now so excessively cold, as to require all the cloaks we could wrap around us, and to have the curtains and windows of the coach closed at the same time; which, as we had a slow ride of fourteen miles, at the rate of three and a half miles the hour, before breakfast, was sufficiently disagreeable, especially after the excessively hot weather we had experienced within the last two weeks only, at Richmond, Petersburg, and Norfolk.

Two miles beyond Fredericksburg, we passed through the village of the cotton-factories, which, at that early hour, was crowded with waggons, of which there could not be less than a hundred in the streets. Beyond this, we saw the corn fields in the least interesting aspect which they present, with all the leaves of the corn pulled off, and piled up in heaps for fodder—the corn-stalk and the naked heads of corn alone remaining. In this state they continue for a month, the grain ripening all the while, till, in the early part of October, they are gathered in and housed. In some of the fields we saw tobacco and buckwheat growing, the latter in full flower. The country was generally level; but the sight of the Blue Ridge in the north-west, gave a fine background to the picture.

It was in a valley near this, that we met a gang











of slaves, including men, women, and children, the men chained together in pairs, and the women carrying the children and bundles, in their march to the South. The gang was under several white drivers, who rode near them on horseback, with large whips, while the slaves marched on foot beside them; and there was one driver behind, to bring up the rear. It did not appear that the slaves had committed any offence. They were chained together for precaution rather than for punishment; because, when accompanied only by one or two white men—and the economy of traffic would, of course, confine the expense of their escort within as narrow bounds as possible—they might be tempted to rise against them in any solitary part of the road, or, at the least, to escape from them if they could; both of which, this chaining them together renders impossible. That they do escape, not when thus chained, but when released from their fetters, every newspaper in the Southern States bears testimony, in the rewards offered for runaway negroes.

As we passed through Richmond, indeed, we learnt that three of the best waiters at one of the hotels there had gone off; and 600 dollars reward was publicly offered for their apprehension. These men belonged to different owners, who had no employment for them in their own houses, or on their own estates, and therefore let them out on hire, at high wages, to the proprietor of the hotel. As not more than half the wages earned by these men was paid to themselves, the other half going to their owners as profit, nothing was more natural than that they should desire to become free, as in such case they would receive the whole of their wages instead of a portion only.

Yet, with the most natural of all motives to seek an escape to the free States of the North, where, whatever they may be able to earn, they are permitted fully to enjoy, without abatement or deduction, the Southern slaveholders affect to be very indignant at their absconding, and persist in it that the slaves are better treated than the free negroes, and always repent their running away! It is rare, indeed, however, that any of them evince this repentance by desiring to be taken back again, notwithstanding the stories to this effect, that are every now and then repeated by the Southern papers. Nor is there one slaveholder out of a thousand who would be willing to place the whole of his slaves upon the footing of giving freedom to those who desired it, and keeping only those in his possession who preferred his service to being free. Instances of individual kindness, to favourite slaves and personal attendants, are no doubt sufficiently numerous, to warrant the belief that *some* of these would prefer remaining the property of their masters, with all the certainty of protection and comfortable subsistence which they enjoy, to the risk of being in want, if set free to rely upon their own resources only. Even to these, however, the option is rarely offered, of choosing for themselves; and with respect to the mass of the slaves in the South, it is never placed within their reach; so that the constantly-repeated assertion of the apologists of slavery, that "the slaves would not accept their freedom even if it were tendered to them, and would be worse off if they did," is never put to the test, by an actual tender of their liberty, because they know too well, that it would be cheerfully accepted.

## CHAP. XXVII.

The Faquier Springs—Family of Yturbide, ex-emperor of Mexico—Recent discovery of the waters—Establishment built by a Company—Description, extent, and plan of the grounds—The Pavilion—Cottages—Garden—Fountains—Baths—Fire by an incendiary at the hotel—Journey from the Springs to Warrenton and Buckland—Character of Virginians of both sexes, by a native—Arrival at Alexandria—Ruined suburbs—Declining prosperity—Causes of its diminished commerce—Visit to Mount Vernon—Washington's estate—Description of the mansion and grounds—Pictures, busts, library, and memorials—Washington's Tomb—Dilapidated condition—Neglect of their national monuments by Americans—Visit to the Museum of Alexandria—Curious personal relics of General Washington—Other curiosities in nature and art.

WE reached the Faquier White Sulphur Springs at four o'clock, having been eleven hours in coming a distance of thirty-five miles, and the fare being four dollars each, so that the travelling was both slow and dear. We found here a very small number of visitors remaining, though about a fortnight since there were upwards of 600 guests at the establishment. But the suddenness with which the cold weather had set in, had dispersed them all to their homes, so that there were not more than twenty remaining; and most of these were detained for conveyances, the only single stage between this and Washington being engaged for three days ahead.

Among the small party left, was the widow and five children, three daughters and two sons, of the celebrated Mexican chief, Yturbide, who, about fifteen years ago, had usurped the government of Mexico, and had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor ; but was soon afterwards shot, in the presence of his wife, who was at that moment near him. The widowed lady had great dignity and sorrow mingled in her countenance, and her whole demeanour was becomingly composed. The daughters were between seventeen and twenty-one ; and the younger son, who was born after the father's death, about fourteen. These were among the gayest of the gay ; they spoke Spanish and English equally well, having resided ever since their expatriation in Philadelphia and Washington, on a pension of 10,000 dollars a year allowed to the widow, from the Mexican government, but, like all the pecuniary engagements of that distracted and embarrassed country, very irregularly paid.

We had to remain at the Springs for a few days, until a conveyance could be ensured for our proceeding ; and that which made it dull to others, namely, the absence of the crowd, made it peculiarly charming and acceptable to us, as we enjoyed our garden-walks, with the waters and the warm-baths, in all that uninterrupted quiet, which is the rarest luxury to be procured in America.

The Sulphur Spring existing here was known some years ago, while the estate in which it rises was held as a farm ; and the residents of the neighbourhood, believing it to possess medicinal virtues, came here from time to time to drink its waters.

This became so troublesome to the occupier of the farm, that having tried every other means to keep away these intruders in vain, he at length filled up the spring, and rendered its waters wholly inaccessible. Recently, however, a gentleman, foreseeing the profitable use that might be made of it, purchased the estate, and obtaining a charter of incorporation for a Company from the State Legislature, allied himself with other stockholders, and planned and executed the present establishment. Lying as it does within fifty-six miles of Washington, and so easily accessible from Richmond, Baltimore, and all the great northern cities, being within three days' journey only, even of Boston, it has already become one of the most popular places of resort in the South, and seems likely to become more so every year.

The grounds occupied by the Company in this estate, embrace nearly 3,000 acres of land, through the centre of which runs the stream of the Rappahannock; there being about 1,800 acres on one side, and 1,200 on the other. One-fourth of the whole is alluvial ground, formed by the Rappahannock and the smaller streams running into it. The remaining portion is prettily undulated with rising ground of gentle ascents, moderate height, and varied surface. The spot on which the principal edifice stands, has been judiciously selected; as, from its principal front to the west is an easy and even descent towards the bottom of the valley, while the prospect extends for at least ten or twelve miles in a westerly direction till it is terminated by the fine barrier of mountains forming the Blue Ridge, whose lofty



eminences and waving outlines give a grand termination to the picture.

The Pavilion, as the principal edifice is called, is a handsome brick building, 188 feet in length, by 44 in breadth, including a centre and two wings, each having its appropriate colonnade of the Doric order, sustaining three entablatures at corresponding heights; the whole forming a long corridor or piazza for promenade. The building is four stories in height; the ground-floor is appropriated to the dining-room, under a double-vaulted roof or arcade; this room is 144 feet long by 30 broad, and is capable of dining comfortably upwards of 400 persons. On the second-story, or, as in England it would be called, on the first-floor, is the ball-room, 100 feet by 40, with the sitting-rooms for ladies and gentlemen, reading-room, and offices. The third and fourth stories contain about seventy bed-rooms, none very small, and some of ample dimensions, with two, three, and even four beds in the same apartment. Besides the Pavilion, there is an additional brick building, recently erected on the opposite side of the road, 105 feet long by 30 wide, and four stories in height, chiefly occupied by sleeping-rooms. And from the west front of the Pavilion is a semicircular row of cabins or cottages leading off from the extremity of each wing, and going down the sloping ground towards the valley, till they terminate in two larger buildings, of three stories each, with double apartments for families.

The space between these semicircular rows of cottages, and in front of the Pavilion, is tastefully

laid out, in the French style of the Tuilleries and the Luxembourg, with lawn, and gravelled walks, central fountain, and corresponding jets-d'eau in the angles of the garden. This is terminated in the distance by the Sulphur Spring, under an octagonal canopy of wood, sustained by pillars, and guarded by a full-length marble statue of some female divinity, of the size of life. The formality of the plan on which the grounds are laid out, partakes more of the Dutch and French than of the English style of ornamental gardening; but it is, perhaps, better adapted than any other would be, to so even a surface and so limited a space. The view of the whole, from the hill, at a distance of 200 yards beyond the western front, is striking and beautiful, though too regular, perhaps, for a good picture.

The water of the Spring is impregnated with sulphate of magnesia, phosphate of soda, and sulphuretted hydrogen; it has a taste and smell precisely like that of the White Sulphur Spring in the western mountains of Virginia. It affects the system in nearly the same manner, being both aperient and diuretic, and acts favourably on most constitutions. The temperature of the water is uniformly at 56°, and besides the use of it as a beverage, in varied quantities, from six to twenty tumblers in a day, it is used for bathing. A very neat and commodious set of hot and cold baths, of plain water, and of the Sulphur Spring, is erected on the lawn, in a small octagonal gothic building, with a swimming-bath, open to the sky in the centre.

We found the accommodations, the fare, the society, small as it was, and the attendance, all agreeable, and

should consider the Faquier Springs soon likely to become the most thronged and popular place of resort, for a summer excursion, in the Union.

On the last night of our stay here, just as we were retiring to rest, my son perceived a quantity of smoke issuing from the adjoining bed-room, and, on attempting to open the door, it was discovered to be locked, and the key taken away. We forced open the door, and found the bed in flames, and the wood-work of the room already much burnt; but the servants not having yet gone to bed, we obtained water enough to extinguish it, though, had it made a very little more progress before it was discovered, it would have been beyond the power of the inmates to suppress, as there is neither engine nor any other apparatus for extinguishing fires in these isolated establishments. On examining the room after the fire was put out, and inquiring into the circumstances of the case, it was the impression of all present that it was the work of an incendiary, as there was no candle or candlestick in the room, nor had the gentleman who slept in it been inside the apartment for many hours. The conviction was that some of the slaves belonging to the establishment had made the attempt to fire the building, but, as usual in such cases, it was thought best to hush the matter up, as such disclosures bring discredit on the masters, by leading to the supposition of ill-treatment, and lessens the marketable value of the slaves who may be convicted of such dangerous practices.

We left the Faquier Springs on the afternoon of the 15th of September, at three o'clock, having engaged an extra stage to take us to Alexandria, and

paying thirty dollars for the journey of fifty miles. In this, as in many other instances throughout the South, we found that we had been deceived and imposed upon by the false representations of the stage-office keepers, as to matters of fact; indeed, we heard afterwards that they boasted of their skill and tact in having taken us in, by persuading us to believe that which was not true, and imposing on us accordingly. The laxity of morals in all dealings for money, is certainly very great in every part of the world, but it seems greater here than in any other nation in which I have travelled; and it is remarkable that here, as everywhere else, it seems to be greater among dealers in horses and carriages for public conveyance, than among any other class; at least it has fallen to our lot to discover more instances of cunning, deceit, and fraud, among the people of this class, than of any other; though I have never yet heard a satisfactory reason given for dealers in horses and suppliers of carriages being more dishonest than dealers in any other requisites for the public use.

Though we had taken the extra stage for our exclusive use, we gave a seat to a Virginia gentleman, who wished to proceed as far as Warrenton; and were agreeably entertained by his conversation during the way. In contrasting the backward condition of his native State, with the more advanced prosperity of nearly all the Northern States, he frankly admitted, as most of the candid and well-informed Virginians readily do, that the great barrier to Southern improvement was the institution of slavery; which, causing all labour to be performed by the blacks, made it disreputable in public opinion for a white

man to labour at all. The consequence is, that all the males, except the very lowest, are brought up to the liberal professions, or to live upon the incomes of their plantations; and few enter into any kind of business by which their fortunes can be much improved. Habits of indolence, recklessness, and extravagance, result from this: so that from the want of any steady occupation or pursuit, the Virginian gentlemen pass their time in travelling from south to north, and east to west, during the migratory season, and in hunting, shooting, fishing, racing, and play of various kinds, in the stationary season. Nearly all of them use tobacco, both in chewing and smoking, most of them are fond of their wine, and many drink cordials, juleps, and brandy. They read but little, and that chiefly in books of mere entertainment. They are hot and irascible, though generous to a fault; but at the same time too regardless of the future, and too careless or indifferent about the claims of others upon them; so that a very large number are in debt, and very indifferent as to whether they are ever able to escape from it or not—living this year on advances made on the income of the next, and spending just as much in years of bad crops and low prices, as in years of good crops and high prices; so that most persons leave, at their death, embarrassments to be cleared off by their successors.

The ladies of Virginia, though free from many of the habits of the gentlemen, were described as partaking of much of their character for aversion to labour, love of amusement and pleasure, and recklessness as to expense. A prudent manager of an estate, or

a thrifty housewife, would hardly be esteemed in Virginia, and there are few who ever aim at such distinction; but, a desire for equipage and servants, love of dress, fondness for balls and parties, love of watering-places and gay assemblages, with rather more than a feminine share of taste for juleps, cordials, and champagne—there being few who do not take one or the other of these more freely than is usual at the North—are prominent traits of character in the upper classes, according to the testimony of a native, who expressed his desire to give as favourable a character of both sexes as he could.

Our road from the Faquier Springs to Warrenton, was an agreeable one, with hilly outlines of background, and gently undulated surface; and after leaving this small but unusually pretty village, which is eight miles from the Springs, we reached, in seven miles more, the village of Buckland, where we found a house of private entertainment, at which everything was clean and inviting; and here we halted.

On the morning of the 16th, we left Bucklands at eight A. M., in a thicker fog than we had yet seen in this country; but it was of short duration, as in less than an hour we had all the warmth and brightness of the Southern autumn, so delicious to the feelings, as well as to the sight. The road was rougher than usual, though the face of the country grew more and more level. We passed, at intervals of about seven miles apart, the two villages of Groveton and Centreville; and seven miles from thence brought us to the larger town of Fairfax, where the County Courts are held. A numerous assemblage of people from the neighbouring country were now in

attendance here. Besides the parties having actual business at these Courts, very many of the country residents come into town on those public days, in the hope of meeting their friends, and thus a sort of Social Exchange is established, where, for two or three days in succession, the principal farmers of the county and their families have a re-union several times a year, which maintains their friendly relations, and keeps up a kind feeling among them all.

We dined at the public table about two o'clock, and proceeding onward to Alexandria, a distance of fourteen miles from hence, we reached it at six. The entrance into this place presents a striking contrast with the towns of America generally; these being almost all in a rising and progressively increasing condition, but this is in a falling and gradually decaying state, from the removal or transfer of all its maritime trade to Baltimore, in consequence of the railroads from the interior communicating with that city. In the suburbs of Alexandria the houses are almost wholly untenanted, and many are in ruins. Within the city itself, which is large, and planned with great regularity, there are many houses without occupants, and in some of the less-frequented streets the grass has grown up so as almost to obscure the pavement; while, in even the most public thoroughfares, there is nothing of the stir and bustle so characteristic of American towns.

We slept at Alexandria, and on the following morning, Sept. 17, paid a visit to Mount Vernon, the estate of General Washington, where he had resided after the stirring scenes of the Revolution, and where he ended his days in retirement and peace.











The distance from Alexandria to Mount Vernon is only seven miles, and the road is very agreeable all the way. Nothing can be more beautiful than the site chosen for the mansion and grounds of this delightful residence, which stands on a bold and rounded promontory overhanging the broad Potomac. The river is here about a mile and a half across, and goes on expanding its width gradually, till it exceeds ten miles, before it empties itself into the great bay of the Chesapeake. The mansion itself is not remarkable for size or elegance, but it is well arranged for domestic comfort; it has a broad portico in front, with open colonnades connecting the wings in the rear, and a fine old turret on the centre.

On entering the hall, there is seen suspended within a glass frame, made for the purpose, the old and rusty key of the French Bastile, which was sent to General Washington, by his friend and fellow-soldier, Lafayette. Beneath it is an engraving representing the demolition of that scene of suffering and oppression, by the infuriated populace of Paris.

In one of the sitting-rooms is a portrait of Lawrence Washington, the brother of the General, dressed in the old English costume of the reign of Queen Anne, with a scarlet coat without collar, small tight cravat, and well coiffed hair. It was the brother to whom the estate originally belonged; and he, being an officer in the British navy, had served under Admiral Vernon, and named the estate, in honour of that distinguished navigator, Mount Vernon. In the same room were busts of Neckar and Lafayette, and a bust of General Washington, by Houdon, the French sculptor, who executed the

full-length figure taken from the life, now in the Capitol at Richmond. Among the engravings around the walls were four battle-pieces, two by sea, and two by land; the former were the Siege and Relief of Gibraltar, and the latter were the Battle of Bunker Hill, and the Death of General Montgomery. In another of the sitting-rooms was a good picture of the present Washington family, a lady and three children, by an American artist; and in the same room, a beautiful marble chimney-piece, with exquisite sculpture of Italian workmanship, representing rural subjects. This was presented to the General soon after the signing of the American Declaration of Independence, by an English gentleman in London, who was a great admirer of his character.

A small, but well-chosen library of English books, in English bindings, all selected, we were told, by General Washington himself, and used by him for many years of his life, occupies another room. This is one of the most interesting relics of the spot, as carrying the visitor back to the studies and habits of the illustrious occupier of this library, in which he passed many hours of each day. In this room is a beautiful miniature of Washington, said to be a speaking likeness, which was taken from an engraving imprinted on a pitcher of earthenware; and on the back of this, in a small, but distinct hand, is written perhaps the most perfect eulogy on the character of Washington that is anywhere on record. It is remarkable, indeed, that its appropriateness did not lead to its being adopted for his monument. But as its excellence is not the less on that account, I copied it, and subjoin it here—

CHARACTER OF WASHINGTON,  
DESIGNED FOR A MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTION.

WASHINGTON,

THE DEFENDER OF HIS COUNTRY—THE FOUNDER OF LIBERTY,  
THE FRIEND OF MAN.

History and Tradition are explored in vain  
For a Parallel to his Character.

In the annals of modern Greatness

He stands alone ;

And the noblest Names of Antiquity

Lose their lustre in his presence.

Born the Benefactor of Mankind,

He united all the qualities necessary to an

Illustrious Career.

Nature made him Great,

He made himself Virtuous.

Called by his Country to the Defence of her Liberties,

He triumphantly vindicated the Rights of Humanity,

And on the Pillars of National Independence

Laid the Foundations of a Great Republic.

Twice invested with Supreme Magistracy

By the Unanimous Voice of a Free People.

He surpassed in the Cabinet

The Glories of the Field,

And voluntarily resigning the Sceptre and the Sword,

Retired to the shades of Private Life.

A spectacle so new and so sublime

Was contemplated with the profoundest admiration,

And the Name of WASHINGTON,

Adding new lustre to Humanity,

Resounded to the Remotest Regions of the Earth.

Magnanimous in Youth,

Glorious through Life—Great in Death :

His highest Ambition, the Happiness of Mankind,

His noblest Victory, the Conquest of Himself.

Bequeathing to Posterity the Inheritance of his Fame,

And Building his Monument in the Hearts of his Countrymen,

He lived the Ornament of the Eighteenth Century.

And died regretted by a Mourning World.

The apartment in which he breathed his last is not shown to visitors, as it is now used as a private bed-room of the family in occupation. In the garden, which is nearly in the same state as when the General took his morning and evening walks through it, we were permitted to take a slip from an orange-tree planted by Washington's own hand; and we learnt from the old negro gardener, who had lived here since he was a child, that the cultivation of fruits and flowers was a recreation in which his former master both delighted and excelled.

After examining the dwelling and garden, we visited the tomb. The body of Washington was originally deposited in the old family vault, near the bank of the river, and that of his wife, who died soon after him, was laid in the same spot. But the number of persons belonging to collateral branches of the family, interred in the same place since their death, so crowded the space allotted for the vault, that a new place of burial was determined on. The spot chosen for this purpose, was one in which General Washington had been known to express a wish to be laid, though why that wish was not complied with earlier, does not appear. In 1831, however, the removal of the bodies took place; and in 1837, the body of General Washington was taken up, for the purpose of being transferred from its first coffin, to a fine marble sarcophagus prepared for that purpose, in which it now lies, above the ground.

The sarcophagus is of the ancient Roman shape, of white marble, with a flat cover, and has in its upper part, sculptured in relief, an eagle, with the national escutcheon of America, the stars and stripes

of her Union, and the word "WASHINGTON," only, beneath it. At the foot of the sarcophagus, on the perpendicular end, is an inscription, recording the gift of it, by T. Struthers, a marble-mason of Philadelphia, in 1837. Close beside this sarcophagus of the General, is another, of similar form and material, containing the ashes of his wife, and on it the only inscription that we could perceive was—

"MARTHA, CONSORT OF WASHINGTON."

Both of these are above ground, in an open space in front of the family vault, and are seen through a lofty iron gate, over which is an arch of plain brick work, and on its front, an inscription, indicating this to be the burial-place of the Washington Family. There is about the whole, however, an air of so much simplicity, that it is difficult for those who have been accustomed to see the splendid mausolea erected to the memory of rulers, statesmen, and heroes, in the old world, to reconcile themselves to such a monument as this, for such a man as Washington. But the fame of this deliverer of his country is happily independent of monumental marble, or the pomp and pageantry of sepulchral grandeur; for in the language of Pericles, in his funeral oration over the Greeks who fell at Marathon, "the whole earth is the sepulchre of illustrious men; nor is the epitaph engraven on tombstones in their native land, the sole guardian of their fame; but the memories of their actions in *other countries*, forms a more faithful record in the heart, than any that human hands can fabricate."

From all I have witnessed in this country, I fear the name of Washington is oftener in the mouths,



than a veneration for his virtues is in the hearts of his countrymen ; and I feel persuaded, that the people of England would go far beyond those of America, in devoting their labour and money towards the erection of a suitable monument to his memory, on the spot that contains his mortal remains.

The whole estate ought to be purchased by the National Government of America, and the residence and the tomb of this Father of his Country ought to be kept up, at the national cost, in a becoming state of repair and preservation. But as it is, with a total neglect on the part of the Government, and a very inadequate attention on the part of the surviving family, it seems likely, in less than a century, to be as completely dilapidated, as the first settlement of the British, at James-Town ; though the name of Washington will be honoured in all countries, and to the latest period of time, as long as the history of America shall endure.

On our return to Alexandria, we visited the Museum of that city, where many curious objects of Nature and Art are collected together, and especially relics of Washington, contributed by his family and personal friends. Among these, is the silk robe in which he was baptised when an infant ; and a pen-knife, which he received from his mother when a boy, and preserved carefully to the end of his life. The anecdote connected with this gift is remarkable. When Admiral Vernon's ship was in the Chesapeake, and Washington was yet a boy, he is said to have gone on board to visit his brother Lawrence, then an officer under the British flag ; and to have been so pleased with the ship and a sea-life, from the little

he had seen of it there, that he assented to Admiral Vernon's proposition to join the ship as a midshipman or volunteer. On communicating this fact to his mother, she expressed great sorrow at his taking such a step without consulting her, but hoped he would recal his engagement. This he consented to do immediately, as he had never disobeyed his parents in any thing; and as a token of her approbation, the penknife was given to him, which he valued so highly, that he then declared his resolution never to part with it, and kept his word.

A masonic apron, and a pair of gloves, the former worked in embroidery by the hands of Madame Lafayette, and presented to Washington by her husband, are also in this Museum; and lastly, the bier on which the coffin of the General rested, at the door of his mansion, before it was taken to the place of his interment. It was said that this bier had been in the family for a century; and that during the General's life, the corpse of every one of his slaves and servants dying on his estate, was laid on it in a coffin at the door, in the same manner as his own, before they were conveyed to the burial ground.

The *first* flag captured by Washington in the Revolutionary war, of beautiful white satin, embroidered with gold, and worked by one of the German princesses for the Hessian regiment from which it was taken, is displayed in this Museum, and is called "Alpha;" while, close by it, is the *last* flag captured by Washington in the same war, an English red silk ensign, with the regimental badge and decorations, and this is called "Omega." All these were sent to the Museum by members of the Washington

family ; their identity is certified by such authorities as are well known on the spot, and leave no doubt of their being genuine.

Among the other curiosities of this collection may be mentioned—the largest piece of brain coral yet known, being upwards of three feet in diameter, brought from the rocks of Bermuda—the skeleton of a horse with three heads, one of a horse, one of a sheep, and one of a dog, the latter less perfect than the two former. There are also several large live eagles, and a beautiful scarlet-winged flamingo in the aviary. The key of the Castle of Tripoli, delivered up to Captain Decatur of the American Navy, and a beautiful Roman sword, of undoubted antiquity, found there also, enriches the collection. There is also a model of the French Bastile, and of the guillotines used in the French Revolution ; a most curious Greek cross, about seven feet high, and one foot broad, made of more than ten thousand separate pieces of wood ! united without nails, having the appearance of a hollow net-work, and being extremely light and elastic, so that it can be bent and made to wave to and fro without breaking. It had been taken from Greece to Smyrna in the Greek revolution, and purchased there by an American gentleman, who presented it to the Museum. A superb Mameluke saddle, of crimson-velvet, thickly worked over with gold ; several fine Malay creases, some wavy and some poisoned ; a collection of Indian weapons generally, including bows, arrows, and scalping-knives, and many curiosities of art, made up a catalogue of interesting objects, in the examination of which, a visitor might spend several days.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

Journey from Alexandria to Washington City—Beauty of the Potomac river—Sight of the Capitol—Deserted condition of Washington—Solitude of the streets—Journey to Baltimore—Susquehannah river—Railroad to Wilmington—Voyage on the Delaware—Storm and whirlwind carrying off houses—Arrival at Philadelphia—Funeral of the late Matthew Carey—Excellence of his character—Passage up the Delaware—Bristol and Burlington—Bordentown and Perth Amboy—Steam voyage through the Straits of Staten Island—Opening of the noble Bay and arrival at New York—Gaiety of the City—General embarrassment in Trade.

WE left Alexandria at two in the afternoon for Washington, by an extra stage engaged for the purpose. The road lying along the south bank of the Potomac, the prospect all the way was extremely beautiful. The river was covered with small craft, with white sails, and the water being nearly calm, their forms were reflected as in the brightest mirror. When we crossed the river by the long bridge, a mile in length, the view up and down the stream was extremely fine;—Fort Washington, the Navy Yard, and the Capitol, being on the right, and Georgetown, and the President's Mansion on the left. But the city itself, when we entered it, seemed like a deserted town, as in reality it is during all the summer and autumn, when the Congress is not in session.

At Washington we took the railroad cars for Baltimore, and went thirty-five miles in about an

hour and a half, with great comfort, and at a cheap rate, the fare being only two dollars each. We found excellent accommodations at Barnum's City Hotel, and passed the evening in visiting a few of the families, whose kindness we had experienced on our former stay, and by whom we were most cordially received.

On the following morning, the 18th of September, we left Baltimore, by the railroad, for Philadelphia, in a tremendous storm of rain and hail, which began to fall just as we set out at nine o'clock. As the road continued for some way along the western bank of the Chesapeake, with frequent openings into the bay, and fine sheets of water running up into the land, the ride was full of interest. Two spots that we passed, called Gunpowder Creek, and Bush River, were studded with beautiful villas and cottages, for the summer residences of Baltimore families. Strange juxtaposition of names is as common here, however, as elsewhere in America, for in the short space of a couple of hours, we passed by Gotham, Joppa, and Havre-de-Grace. It was at this last place that we crossed the Susquehannah, a beautiful river, which flows for 570 miles through Pennsylvania before it reaches this spot, and has more lovely valleys in its course than almost any other stream in America. There are already more than 500 miles of navigable canal along its banks, for inland traffic; and the railroads and canals executed by the State of Pennsylvania, to communicate with this stream and its tributaries, already extend over 1,576 miles! The trade in iron, coal, timber, wheat, flour, potash, and various other kinds of produce, on these great high-

ways, is always considerable, and is increasing every month in the year.

After crossing the Susquehannah in an immense steam-boat, which took all the baggage-cars on the roof, and might be considered a floating-bridge, we resumed the railroad conveyance to Wilmington, in Delaware, and from thence embarked on the beautiful river of that name for Philadelphia. Our passage up this stream was threatened with some interruption, by the gathering of one of the darkest storms I ever remember to have seen. The sky in the south was as black as pitch, varied only by the deep smoky tinge of the rolling masses of gathering cloud, accumulating in successive ridges or billows one over the other. There were, perhaps, fifty sail of vessels, of different rig and sizes, beating down the bay, and some few coming up before the wind, under full sail at this time; and their white sails, contrasted with the inky back-ground of the picture, looked like pearl or alabaster. At length, the more prudent began to shorten sail, and come to an anchor; but the bolder continuing to carry-on, were punished for their temerity, for when the storm burst, it rent their canvass into ribbons, and carried away the masts of several by the board. As the storm swept onward towards our steam-vessel, it assumed the appearance of a whirlwind, or water-spout, drawing up the water in spiral circles, and covering all the surface of its track with a thick mist or spray. Fortunately it passed about a mile to the eastward of us, for if it had taken our boat, it would have unroofed the light upper deck and awnings; and if any terror had occasioned the passengers, of which there were

about 300, to crowd to one side of the deck, rather than the other, we might have been upset. Such, indeed, was the strength of the current of wind, which passed about a mile from us, that it took two small houses in its course, whirled them into the air, and threw around the bricks, beams, windows, doors, and moveables, as if they were so many straws, or as if there had been an explosion of gunpowder, and where the two houses stood, nothing remained but their foundations! As these were on one of the small low islands in the Delaware, they were probably not inhabited at the time; if they had been, the inmates could hardly have escaped without injury. For ourselves, we had only a heavy fall of rain, and hail as large as cherries, with sufficient wind to alarm the great mass of the passengers, but not to do any injury. The sound of the thunder was louder than the report of a thousand cannon, and seemed sometimes like the crashing fall of a hundred hills above our heads; while the forked lightning was so vivid, as to produce a momentary sense of blindness after the flash had

When we reached Philadelphia we had more than an hour's drive around to the principal hotels of the city before we could find a bed, every public place of lodging or accommodation being filled with the great number of Southerners waiting here on their way home, to hear of the abatement of the sickness before they proceeded farther, and of merchants and traders from the West, to lay in their winter stocks of goods for sale; so that every house was crowded.

I remained at Philadelphia on the following day,

September 19, to perform the painful duty of attending to the grave the remains of the late venerable and excellent Matthew Carey, one of the most prominent philanthropists of his age. I had enjoyed the pleasure of Mr. Carey's friendship and society on my two former visits to Philadelphia, and heard of his death with deep regret, though he had filled up the measure of his useful and honourable life to the age of eighty, and done more deeds of kindness and charity in that period than most men of the same means. He was a native of Ireland, and came to this country at an early age, but without any other means of acquiring wealth than his own industry. From a journeyman printer, like Franklin, he became the publisher of a newspaper, then its editor and proprietor, and lastly a publishing bookseller, in which capacity, he realized a handsome fortune, and retired from active life, leaving his business to his sons. He was, however, never idle; but, with his pen, and purse, as well as with his personal efforts, he advocated and assisted every benevolent measure presented to him, and originated and supported a great number himself. His latter days indeed was one uninterrupted course of benevolence and charity, and he may fairly be numbered among the Howards of the Western world.

Mr. Carey being a Roman Catholic, his funeral was conducted according to the ritual of that church; and his interment took place in the burial ground of St. Mary's. I attended, with my son, among the personal friends assembled at his residence, and we walked together in the melancholy procession which followed the hearse from his house to the grave, the number of persons joining in this, being upwards of



a thousand, and the empty carriages of his friends and acquaintance filling the streets for nearly the whole of the way. The church was crowded, when we reached it with an auditory of more than 2,000 persons ; and about 500 found admission with the corpse into the aisles below. The service was very simple, consisting merely of a funeral anthem by the choir, a most feeling and appropriate address by the Catholic priest, to the congregation, over the bier, and a second funeral anthem at its close. The solemn dirge for the dead, played by the full-toned organ, and the mingling of rich and sweet voices in the lamentations and rejoicings which were alternately expressed in the anthem sung, were full of the most touching pathos ; and few, I think, could have been present, whether Catholic or Protestant, without having had their hearts penetrated with the solemnity of the scene ; and being induced to utter the emphatic prayer, “Lord ! let me die the death of the righteous ; and let my last end be like his.”

We left Philadelphia on the morning of the 20th, at seven o'clock, by a steamer for New York, and were as much pleased as ever with the beautiful banks of the Delaware, which present a succession of fertile fields, graceful woods, and pleasant mansions and gardens, all the way up to the pretty little towns of Burlington and Bristol, and thence to Bordentown. Here we landed, to take the railroad cars ; and from thence, going across New Jersey, we reached the port of Perth Amboy, and there again embarked in the steam-boat for New York.

The passage through the narrow strait of Staten Island was romantically beautiful ; and the fine villas

and cottages, seen all the way from the entrance of the strait, up to its opening into the bay, by New Brighton—the fine hotels and boarding-houses there, and the general fertility and verdure of the land on both sides—formed a constant succession of exquisite pictures. As we opened the bay of New York, the prospect expanded and became grander—the numerous ships at the Quarantine anchorage—the sight of the Atlantic sea through the Narrows—and the distant spires of the city of New York rising in the northern horizon—with the numerous vessels, of all sizes and forms under sail, coming and going—and the great ocean-steamer, the *British Queen*, ploughing her way up the harbour, freighted with 200 passengers, and bringing intelligence for which thousands were waiting with anxiety in every part of America—all gave great and varied interest to the view.

As we drew nearer to the town, we passed a French brig of war at anchor, from Vera Cruz, and, landing at the wharf in the Hudson river, we proceeded in search of quarters. Here, however, the hotels and boarding-houses were even more crowded than at Philadelphia, from the same causes; and we were three hours employed in making applications to every place known to us in the city, before we could obtain even a single room; and only secured this at last by the conversion of a private parlour, at the Athenæum, into a sitting-room, so thronged was New York in every quarter of the city.

During our stay at New York, we renewed our intercourse with most of our former friends here; and were received with all the cordiality we could desire. We found the city gayer, as we thought,

than ever; and expensiveness in furniture, dress, and equipages, seemed to be carried much farther than when we were here before. From all that we could learn, however, the prosperity of the city was not so great as usual. There had been more failures, and more winding-up of insolvent accounts, than in the preceding year; and many were thought to be even now tottering on the brink of a precipice. But amidst all this, the theatres were never more crowded, the hotels more thronged, or the expenditure in every way more lavish, than at present. Some attributed this to the natural recklessness of desperation; and others accounted for it by the growing laxity of principle, which, every year, according to their view, is getting worse and worse; so that all distinctions in society, between a man who lives prudently and pays all his debts, and one who lives extravagantly and defrauds his creditors, seems fast disappearing. We heard of men living at the rate of 20,000 dollars a year, who were a year or two ago known to be without any capital at all; and of ladies laying out, in a single morning's shopping, 400 dollars in worked cambric pocket-handkerchiefs; while the fulness of all the dress and jewelry stores bespoke the large demand made for these materials. According to the testimony of the storekeepers themselves, however, the largest portion of their business was done on credit; and in one house we learnt, that though the city was never before so full of people, nor the people ever more in a spending humour than at present, they had not received more than five per cent in cash, of their whole sales for the last three months; the other ninety-five per cent being

entered on the books to the credit of the purchasing parties. The prices of everything, therefore, kept up to the highest standard, to make up for the loss by bad debts which was sure to accrue. Merchants were said to be so embarrassed for want of immediate funds to meet their engagements, that they were raising money by large sacrifices of property, and by paying interest at the rate of two per cent per month, and in some instances at the rate of twenty-five per cent per annum. Nearly all parties, therefore, were losing ground, except the few great capitalists who could advance money at these extravagant rates; and thus increase their wealth from the high interest paid amidst the general distress.

Such was the state of things, as represented to us in almost every circle in which we visited; and yet, amidst it all, the external aspect of the streets, shops, and houses, would lead a stranger to imagine, that every one was basking in the full sunshine of prosperity. The public promenade of Broadway exhibited a greater number of expensively dressed ladies than could be seen in the same space in either London or Paris; and it must be added, much more of feminine beauty. Indeed it may be doubted whether any city in the world contains so many handsome women, in proportion to its population, as New York.

## POSTSCRIPT.

AT the close of the First Series of my Work on the *Northern* Free States of America, (vol. iii. p. 582) a Second Series was promised on the *Southern* Slave States, which are less known to the British public. I have accordingly redeemed my pledge, by presenting these Volumes—as the Second Series adverted to—confining them exclusively, as originally intended and announced, to my Travels in the SOUTHERN or Slave States of America.

It remains to be seen, whether this New Series, which goes over so large a portion of untravelled ground, will enjoy the same flattering reception as the First; and upon that issue will depend whether the remainder of my unpublished Journals, of Travels in the EASTERN States, and in the rich and fertile territories of the WEST, shall follow at some future and convenient period.

There may have been some few, perhaps, who would have preferred a Brief Sketch or Outline of the whole Tour of nearly four years, in a single Series, as they desire only to be *amused*, and therefore they like to “get rapidly over the ground,” without waiting to gather much by the way. For such readers there are no lack of Travels, from Captain Head’s “Rough Ride over the Pampas,” to Colonel Maxwell’s “Run through the United States,” and “Captain Barclay’s Tour of Four Months through

America and the Canadas." Those who gallop over a country, or traverse it by railroad and steamboat, may bring their contributions to the stock of public information within a very narrow compass; and, where the object is chiefly to entertain, the labour is light and easy.

My own impression, however, has always been, that, without disparaging the taste or talents of those who supply the public demand with a commodity suited to the literary market of the day, there is abundant room for a more comprehensive Work on America, at least than any that has yet appeared; and it has been an object of ambition with me to present such a Work to the world. To the collection of the facts necessary for such a publication, I believe I may say with truth, that I have devoted more time, and expended more labour, than any who have preceded me in the same path; and it is because the facts collected are more numerous, and the scenes and objects visited more varied than usual, that therefore its limits are unavoidably more extensive.

If the great Republican Union were a country like Spain, or Portugal, or Italy, or Greece, or Palestine, or Egypt, or Belgium, or Holland, or Denmark, or Sweden, it would be easy to examine it in a Summer Trip, and present a full and faithful description of it in a few volumes. But it should be considered, that the Twenty-six States, and Three Territories, now composing the Federal Union, cover as large an extent of area, and embrace as wide a zone of climate and productions, as all the countries I have named, put together. In the various cities, districts, and provinces of the whole, there are continu-

ally springing up, from year to year, new developments, new combinations, and new undertakings, of the greatest interest to other countries, because of their probable effects on the commerce of 'the world. To all which it may be added, that there is more of political, commercial, manufacturing, mining, and agricultural competition, and far more of invention, enterprise, and intellectual activity, in continual exercise among the eighteen millions of people spread over this vast surface—than in all the countries I have enumerated, united into one.

For these reasons, more time is required for a careful examination of such an extensive area; and more space is requisite for a full and faithful description of it, than readers are generally aware. And as the rank now enjoyed by the United States—as one of the great Powers, whose influence, being cast into the balance, may determine the fate of nations—is such as to make everything connected with its institutions, resources, and prospects, of great interest and importance to the civilized world, I am not without a hope, that my humble endeavours to present as full and faithful an account of all that I examined and observed, during the three years and a half that I passed in traversing every portion of that extensive and beautiful region, may be crowned with present success, and honoured with future respect and commendation.

## APPENDIX—VOL. II.

### NARRATIVE OF FACTS—EXPLANATORY OF THE ARTICLE ON "AMERICA," IN THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

IN the year 1818, being then in the East Indies, after the completion of my Travels through Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Hindoostan, I was honoured with the request of the late Bishop of Calcutta, Dr. Middleton, and the late Governor-General of India, the Marquis of Hastings—both of whom had read my manuscript journals—to give them early publication, as they each deemed them of great interest to the literary world. The first portion of the MS. was, accordingly, forwarded to Mr. John Murray, of Albemarle-street, by the hands of Capt. George Sydenham, of the Bengal Army, now in London, and Mr. Murray engaged to give £500 for the copyright, and bring out the work immediately.

It having become known, however, to Mr. William John Bankes (then of Corfe Castle) that Mr. Murray had purchased the copyright of this work,—and he (Mr. Bankes) being anxious, if possible to suppress it, in order that it might not anticipate a Work on the same countries which he proposed publishing himself,—he made such false representations to Mr. Murray, as to induce him to abandon the publication, rescind his agreement to pay £500 for the copyright, and throw the work back on the hands of my friend from whom he had received it.

Notwithstanding the prejudice likely to be created in the public mind from this breach of contract, by one of Mr. Murray's standing in the trade, the work was subsequently accepted by Messrs. Longman & Co., and published by them under the title



of "Travels in Palestine." It had a most flattering reception from the public, and enjoyed an extensive sale, passing speedily into a second edition. Its success was likely to be "wormwood and gall" to Mr. Murray and to Mr. Banks; as, by it, their schemes of suppression and anticipation were defeated. In the ebullition of their disappointment and defeat, Mr. William John Banks wrote (anonymously however), and Mr. John Murray published, in *THE QUARTERLY REVIEW*, a pretended criticism on these "Travels in Palestine;" in the course of which they indulged in so much falsehood and defamation, that I felt it a duty, for the sake of my reputation, as I was then comparatively unknown to the world, to institute legal proceedings against them in the Court of King's Bench, for their respective shares in this libellous publication.

In the course of these proceedings, every means were taken on their part to protract the cause, and throw obstacles in the way of its speedy termination, by moving for commissions to Syria and to India for evidence, in consequence of which the proceedings were extended over three years of time! and all that wealth, delay, and great professional talent could achieve for them, was accomplished. But at length the day of trial came, when Mr. Murray instructed his counsel—the present Lord Lyndhurst, Justice Parke, and Baron Gurney—to make an ample apology in open Court, express his deep regret at his *QUARTERLY REVIEW* having been made the medium of false imputations on an honourable man, and to consent to a verdict with costs. Mr. Banks, however, proceeding to a trial, was convicted, by a jury of his countrymen, of being guilty of a false, scandalous, and malicious libel, and adjudged to pay £400 damages; while their united costs, from the long delays, distant commissions, and other causes, amounted, it was understood, to nearly £6,000; and, though I was the unjustly injured party, I remember well that I was, myself, saddled with expenses, not included in the taxed costs, on the

whole of the three years that these actions were kept pending, of about £1,500, though perfectly innocent of even a single charge of my libellers !

It is asserted, that on this occasion, Mr. Banks refused to pay his due share of the costs in which Mr. Murray was involved as the publisher of the libellous article, though he had nothing to do with the writing it ;—and in revenge for this ill-treatment, Mr. Murray made known to my counsel—the present Lord Abinger, Lord Denman, Lord Brougham, and Mr. Hill—what had been a profound secret till then : namely, that it was Mr. Banks who, having first tried to get my Book suppressed by false representations, and failing therein, had next given vent to his rage and disappointment by writing the slanderous article in *THE QUARTERLY REVIEW*, and refused to bear his share of the burden of the penalty !

It is hardly to be wondered at, perhaps, that Mr. Murray should feel no disposition to commend any Work of mine, after this ; but prudence might have taught him the danger of doing anything that might revive this almost forgotten story of by-gone days. Loss of memory, however, seems to be common to both these personages ; as Mr. Banks had forgotten statements in his own letters, which were produced in evidence against him at the trial, and the falsehood of his own assertions were thus proved by his own hand ; while Mr. Murray and his present Editor, seem to have lost *their* recollections so entirely, that on concluding an article on my first Work on America, in which they profess to review the Index of the Book only, they say—“ they do not remember ever to have adverted to my name on any former occasion in their Journal !”

I take this occasion, therefore, to correct these members of the *Non-mi-Ricordo Family*. in their error ; and, though at the expense of disturbing their complacency, to let the American and the English people equally know, that the two objects which the

article in *THE QUARTERLY REVIEW* were intended to effect were : First, to extract from the Index of my Book—not written by myself, but prepared, in the usual way, by one of those readers or compilers, which Mr. Murray himself, as well as all other publishers, employs for such purposes—every portion that could pamper to the lowest prejudices, by keeping up the feeling of national animosity between England and America, which it was the leading object of the Book itself, to soften or allay—Secondly, to gratify these revengeful and vindictive feelings, common to those who injure men unjustly, and who try, by every effort they can, to heap still greater injuries on those whom they have once abused.

I have lived long enough, however, to discover, that one may live down the most violent assaults on reputation, by pursuing a calm, upright, and persevering career of honest and useful labour ; and that the world seldom fails to see, that a man's *conduct* through life, is a better test of his character, than any that the party-pages of political and personal adversaries, such as those of *THE QUARTERLY REVIEW*, can furnish.

*Camden Town, March, 1842.*

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

















